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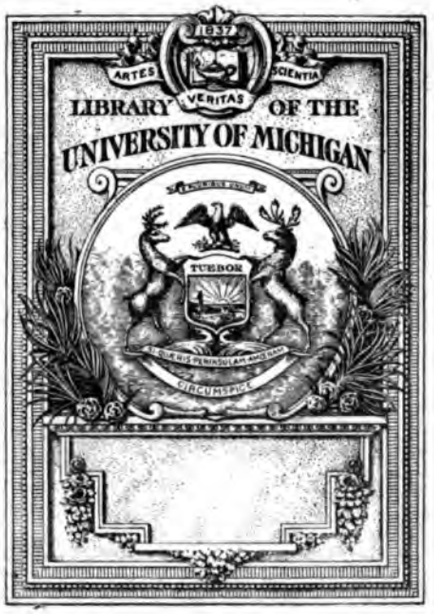
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TRANSLATIONS

FROM THE

CHINESE AND ARMENIAN,

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

Karl
CHARLES FRIED. NEUMANN.

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AND SOLD BY
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1831.

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I.

HISTORY of the PIRATES who infested the China Sea, from 1807 to 1810.

II.

The CATECHISM of the SHAMANS; or the Laws and Regulations of the Priesthood of Buddha, in China.

III.

VAHRAM'S CHRONICLE of the Armenian Kingdom of CILICIA during the time of the Crusades.

靖海氛記

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OF

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

CONQUERORS are deemed successful robbers, while robbers are unsuccessful conquerors. If the founder of the dynasty of the Ming had failed in his rebellion against the Moguls, history would have called him a robber; and if any one of the various robber-chiefs, who in the course of the two last centuries made war against the reigning Manchow, had overthrown the government of the foreigners, the official historiographers of the "*Middle empire*" would have called him *the far-famed, illustrious elder father* of the new dynasty.

Robbers or pirates are usually ignorant of the principles concerning human society. They are not aware that power is derived from the people for the general advantage, and that when it is abused to a certain extent, all means of redress resorted to are legitimate. But they feel most violently the abuse of power. The fruit of labour is too often taken out of their hands, justice sold for money, and nothing is safe from their rapacious and luxurious masters. People arise to oppose, and act according to the philosophical principles of human society, without having any clear idea about them. Robbers and pirates are, in fact, the opposition party in the despotical empires of the East; and their history is far more interesting than that of the reigning despot.*

* The Chinese have particular histories of the robbers and pirates who existed in the *middle empire* from the most ancient times; these histories form a portion of every provincial history. The three last books (the 58th, 59th, and 60th) of the *Memoirs*

The sameness which is to be observed in the history of all Asiatic governments, presents a great difficulty to any historian who wishes to write a history of any nation in Asia for the general reader.

The history of the transactions between Europeans and the Chinese is intimately connected with that of the pirate chiefs who appeared from time to time in the Chinese Sea, or Southern Ocean. The Europeans themselves, at their first appearance in the *middle empire*, only became known as pirates. Simon de Andrada, the first Portuguese who (1521) tried to establish any regular trade with

concerning the South of the Meihling Mountains (see the Catechism of the Shahmans, p. 44) are inscribed *Tsing fun* (10,987, 2,651), and contain the Robber history from the beginning of Woo wang, of the dynasty Chow. The Memoirs only give extracts of former works; the extracts to the three last books are taken from *the Great History of Yuĕ*, or Province of Kwang tang (*Yuĕ ta ke*), from *the Old Transactions of the Five Realms* (*Woo kwŏ koo sse*), *the Old Records of Yang ching*, a name of the ancient city of Kwang tung (*Yang ching koo chaou*), *the Official Robber History* (*Kwŏ she yĭh shin chuen*), &c.

China, committed violence against the merchants, and bought young Chinese to use them as slaves; and it is known that it was the policy of the *civilized foreigners* from the "Great Western Ocean" (which is the Chinese name for Europe) to decry their competitors in trade as pirates and outlaws.

The footing which Europeans and Americans now enjoy in China, originated from the assistance given by the Portuguese to the Manchow against the Patriots, otherwise called pirates, who would not submit to the sway of foreigners. Macao, the only residence (or large prison) in which foreigners are shut up, is not considered by the Chinese Government as belonging exclusively to the Portuguese. The Dutch, on not being allowed to remain in Macao, complained to the Chinese Government, and the authorities of the middle empire commanded the Por-

tuguese to grant houses to the newly arrived *Holan* or Hollander, "since Macao was to be considered as the abode of *all* foreigners trading with China." The edicts concerning this transaction are stated to be now in the archives of the Dutch factory at Macao.

It is one of the most interesting facts in the history of the Chinese empire, that the various barbarous tribes, who subdued either the whole or a part of this singular country, were themselves ultimately subdued by the peculiar civilization of their subjects. The Kitans, Moguls, and Manchow, became, in the course of time, Chinese people; like the Ostro, and Visigoths, and Longobards—Romans. But we may remark, that both the Chinese and the Roman civilization under the Emperors recommended itself to the conquerors, as connected with a despotism which particularly suited the views of the

conquerors. Though this large division of the human race, which we are accustomed to call *Tatars*, never felt a spark of that liberty which everywhere animated the various German nations and tribes, and the Khakhans, in consequence of this, were not in need of any foreign policy to enslave their compatriots; yet it may be said, that neither Moguls nor Manchow were able to establish a despotic form of government which worked so well for a large nation as that of the Chinese.

The extremes of both despotism and democracy acknowledge no intermediary power or rank. The sovereign is the vice-regent of heaven, and all in all; he is the only rule of right and wrong, and commands both what shall be done in this world and thought of concerning the next. It may be easily imagined, that the Jesuits, on their first arrival in China, were delighted with such a perfect spe-

cimen of government according to their political sentiments. They tried all that human power could command to succeed in the conversion of this worldly paradise. The fathers disguised themselves as astronomers, watchmakers, painters, musicians, and engineers.* They forged inscriptions† and invented miracles, and almost went to the extent of canonizing Confucius. But this cunning deference to Chinese customs involved the Jesuits in a dispute with their more pious but less prudent competitors; and notwithstanding all the

* We are chiefly indebted to the Jesuits that the Russians had not conquered part of China about the middle of the seventeenth century. See the passage of Muller in Burney's Voyages of Discovery to the North-East Passage, p. 55. The Manchow destroyed the Chinese patriots by the cannon cast by the Rev. Father Verbiest.—Le Comte, Nouvelles Observations sur la Chine.

† We have a learned dissertation, pleading for the authenticity of the famous inscription of *Se ngan foo*, by a well-known Sinologue. May we not be favoured with another *Oratio pro domo* concerning the many crosses which had been found in Fuh këen, and on the "Escrevices de Mer, qui estans encore en vie, lors mesme qu'elles estoient cuites?" See Relation de la Chine par Michel Boym, de la Compagnie de Jesus, in Theveno, et Relations de divers Voyage, vol. ii, pp. 6 and 14.

cleverness of the Jesuits, the Chinese saw at last, that in becoming Roman Catholic Christians they must cease to be Chinese, and obey a foreign sovereign in the *Great Western Ocean.* Toland affirms, that the Chinese and the Irish, in the time of their heathen monarch Laogirius, were the only nations in which religious persecutions never existed;* this praise now refers exclusively to Ireland. Roman Catholicism is at this moment nearly

* *Toland,* History of the Druids, p. 51.—"This justice, therefore, I would do to Ireland, even if it had not been my country, *viz.* to maintain that this tolerating principle, this *impartial liberty* (of religion), ever since unexampled there as well as elsewhere, *China excepted,* is far greater honour to it," &c. Never was a man more calumniated than Confucius by the Jesuit Couplet. *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* was printed in the year 1687, shortly after Louis XIV. abolished the Edict of Nantes, and persecuted the most industrious part of his subjects. The Jesuit is bold enough to affirm, in his *Epistola Dedicatoria ad Ludovicum magnum,* that the Chinese philosopher would be exceedingly rejoiced in seeing the piety of the great king. "*Quibus te laudibus efferret, cum haeresin, hostem illam avitae fidei ac regni florentissimi teterrimam, proculcatam et attritam, edicta quibus vitam ducere videbatur, abrogata; disjecta templa, nomen ipsum sepultum, tot animarum millia pristinis ab erroribus ad veritatem, ab exitio ad salutem tam suaviter (!) tam fortiter (!), tam feliciter (!) traducta.*

extinguished in China. To become a Christian is considered high-treason, and the only Roman Catholic priest at Canton at the present time, is compelled to hide himself under the mask of shopkeeper. In their successful times, during the seventeenth century, the Roman Catholic Missionaries published in Europe, that no nation was more virtuous, nor any government more enlightened than that of the Chinese; these false eulogies were the source of that high opinion in which the Chinese were formerly held in Europe.

The merchants and adventurers who came to China "to make money" found both the government and people widely different from descriptions given by the Jesuits. They found that the Chinese officers of government, commonly called Mandarins, would think themselves defiled by the least intercourse with fo-

reigners, particularly merchants; and that the laws are often interpreted quite differently before and after receiving bribes. The Europeans were proud of their civilization and cleverness in mercantile transactions, and considered the inhabitants of all the other parts of the world as barbarians; but they found, to their astonishment and disappointment, the Chinese still more proud and cunning. We may easily presume that these deluded merchants became very irritated, and in their anger they reported to their countrymen in Europe that the Chinese were the most treacherous and abandoned people in the world,* that "they were only a peculiar race of savages," and required to be chastised in one way or another; which would certainly be very easy. Commodore Anson, with a single weather-beaten sixty-gun ship, in fact,

* Toreen's Voyage behind Osbeck, II. 239, English translation.

set the whole power of the Chinese Government at defiance.

The Translator of the History of the Pirates ventures to affirm, that the Chinese system of government is by far the best that ever existed in Asia; not excepting any of the different monarchies founded by the followers of Alexander, the government of the Roman Prætors and of Byzantine Dukes, or that of Christian Kings and Barons who reigned in various parts of the East during the middle ages. The principles of Chinese government are those of virtue and justice; but they are greatly corrupted by the passions and vices of men. The greater part of their laws are good and just, though the practice is often bad; but unfortunately this is generally not known to the "Son of Heaven." It is the interest of the Emperor to deal out justice to the lowest of his subjects; but, supposing it

were possible that one man could manage the government of such an immense empire, who either could or would dare to denounce every vicious or unjust act of the officers employed by government? The Chinese themselves are a clever shrewd sort of people; deceit and falsehood are, perhaps, more generally found in the "flowery empire" than any where else; but take them all in all, they rank high in the scale of nations, and the generality of the people seem to be quite satisfied with their government; they may wish for a change of masters, but certainly not for an entire change of the system of government.

There has existed for a long period, and still exists, a powerful party in the Chinese Empire, which is against the dominion of the Manchow; the different mountainous tribes maintain, even now, in the interior of China, a certain inde-

pendence of the Tay tsing dynasty. The Meao tsze, who were in Canton some years ago, stated, with a proud feeling, that they were *Ming jin*, people of Ming; the title of the native sovereigns of China before the conquest of the Manchow. It is said, that the whole disaffected party is united in a society—generally called the *Triade-Union*—and that they aimed at the overthrow of the Tatars, particularly under the weak government of the late Emperor; but the rebels totally failed in their object both by sea and land.

It has been falsely reported in Europe, that it is not allowed by the laws of China to publish the transactions of the reigning dynasty. It is true that the history written by the official or imperial historians is not published; but there is no statute which prohibits other persons from writing the occurrences of their times. It may be easily imagined that

such authors will take especial care not to state any thing which may be offensive to persons in power. There is, however, no official court in China to regulate the course of the human understanding, there is nothing like that tribunal which in the greater part of the Continent of Europe is called the *Censorship.* Fear alone is quite sufficient to check the rising spirits of the liberals in the middle empire. The reader, therefore, should not expect that either the author of the "History of the Rebellions in the Interior of China," or the writer of the "Pacification of the Pirates," would presume to state that persons whom government is pleased to style robbers and pirates, are in reality enemies of the present dynasty; neither would they state that government, not being able to quell these rebellions, are compelled to give large recompenses to the different chiefs who submit. These

facts are scarcely hinted at in the Chinese histories. The government officers are usually delineated as the most excellent men in the world. When they run away, they know before-hand that fighting will avail nothing; and when they pardon, they are not said to be compelled by necessity, but it is described as an act of heavenly virtue! From what we learn by the statements of a Chinese executioner, we should be led to form a bad opinion of the veracity of these historians, and the heavenly virtue of their government; for it is said, that one Chinese executioner beheaded a thousand pirates in one year.*

The author of the following work is a certain *Yung lun yuen*, called *Jang sëen*,† a native of the city or market town *Shun tih*, eighty le southerly from

* The Canton Register, 1829, No. 20.

† *Jang sëen* is his Tsze, or title. The numbers which are to be found on the margin of the translation, refer to the pages of the Chinese printed text.

Canton. The great number of proper names, of persons and places, to be found in the "*History of the Pacification of the Pirates*," together with the nicknames and thieves' slang employed by the followers of Ching yĭh, presented peculiar difficulties in the translation of *Yuen's* publication. The work was published in November 1830 at Canton; and it is to be regretted, for the fame of the author in the *great western ocean*, that he used provincial and abbreviated characters. I will not complain that by so doing he caused many difficulties to his translator, for a native of *Shun tih* would not trouble himself on that point; but I have reason to believe that the head schoolmaster of Kwang tung will think it an abomination that Yung lun yuen should dare take such liberties in a historical composition. Schoolmasters have a greater sway in China than any where

else, and they like not to be trifled with. These are particularly the men, who, above all others, oppose any innovation or reform; scholars, who presume to know every thing between heaven and earth: and they may certainly satisfy every man, who will rest satisfied by mere words. These learned gentlemen are too much occupied with their own philosophical and literary disquisitions, to have any time, or to think it worth their notice, to pay attention to surrounding empires or nations. If we consider the scanty and foolish notices which are found in recent Chinese publications regarding those nations with which the Chinese should be well acquainted, we cannot but form a very low estimate of the present state of Chinese literature. How far otherwise are the accounts of foreign nations, which are to be found in the great work of Matuanlin! It will, perhaps, be interest-

ing to the European reader to learn, what the Chinese know and report concerning the nations of *Ta se yang*, or the *great western ocean.* I therefore take an opportunity here to give some extracts from a Chinese publication relative to European nations, printed last year at Canton.

The *fifty-seventh book* of the *Memoirs concerning the South of the Meiling Mountains*, contains a history of all the Southern barbarians (or foreigners); and here are mentioned—with the *Tanka* people and other barbarous tribes of Kwang tung and Kwang se—the *Siamese*, the *Mahometans*, the *French*, *Dutch*, *English*, *Portuguese*, *Austrians*, *Prussians*, and *Americans.* The work was published by the command of Yuen, the ex-Governor-General of Canton, who is considered one of the principal living literary characters of China, and it consists chiefly of extracts from the voluminous history of

the province Kwang tung, published by his Excellency:—

The Religion of the Hwy hwy, or Mahometans.

" This religion is professed by various sorts " of barbarians who live southerly beyond " *Chen ching* (Tséamba, or Zeampa), to the *Se* " *yu.* Their doctrines originated in the king- " dom of *Me tih no* (Medina). They say that " heaven is the origin of all things; they do not " use any images. Their country is close to Tëen " choo (India); their customs are quite diffe- " rent from those of the Buddhists; they kill " living creatures, but they do not eat indiscri- " minately all that is killed; they eat not hog's " flesh, and this is the essence of the doctrine " of Hwy hwy. They have now a foreign pa- " goda (*fan tă*), near the temple of the com- " passionate saint (in Canton), which exists " since the time of the Tang. It is of a spiral " form, and 163 cubits high.* They go every " day therein to say prayers."

* The cubit at Canton is 14 inches 625 dec. Morrison, under the word *Weights*, in his Dictionary, English and Chinese.

By the kindness of Dr. Morrison, the translator had the pleasure to converse with a member of the Mahometan clergy at Canton. He stated, that in the Mosque at Canton is a tablet, whereon it is written, that the religion of the Prophet of Mecca was brought to China, *Tang ching yuen san nëen*, that is, in the third year of the period called *Ching yuen*, under the Tang dynasty, *i. e.* 787 of our era.* The compilers of the *Memoirs*, &c. have taken their extract from the historical work of *Ho* (4051, M.); they seem not to have any knowledge of Matuanlin, where the Arabs are spoken of under the name of *Ta she*. See the notes to my translation of the Chronicle of Vahram, p. 76. During the time the translator

* We see by this statement that Couplet is wrong in saying (*Confucius* Sinarum philosophus. Proemialis declaratio, p. 60): "Mahometani, qui una cum suis erroribus ante annos fere *septingentos* (Couplet wrote 1683) magno numero et licentia ingressi in Chinam."

was at Canton, there arrived a pilgrim from Pekin on his way to Mecca.

The Fa lan se, Francs and Frenchmen.

" The *Fa lan se* are also called *Fo lang se*, and " now *Fo lang ke*. In the beginning they adopted " the religion of Buddha, but afterwards they " received the religion of the *Lord of Heaven*. " They are assembled together and stay in *Leu* " *song* (Spain ?); they strive now very hard with " the *Hung maou* or *red-haired people* (the *Dutch*), " and the *Ying keih le* (*English*); but the *Fa lan* " *se* have rather the worst of it. These fo- " reigners, or barbarians (*e jin*) wear white " caps and black woollen hats; they salute one " another by taking off the hat. Regarding " their garments and eating and drinking, they " have the same customs as the people of " Great *Leu song* and Small *Leu song* (*Spain* " and *Manilla*)."

This extract is taken from the ***Hwang tsing chĭh kung too***, or the ***Register of the Tribute as recorded under the present dy-***

nasty (*Memoirs*, l. c. p. 10 v., p. 11 r.). I am not sure if *Ke tsew* (10,869) *keu* (6,063) *Leu song*, can really be translated by the words—*they are assembled together and stay in Leu song*. The use of *tsew* in the place of *tseu* (10,826) is confirmed by the authorities in Kang he; but does Leu song really mean Spain? The Philippinas are called Leu song (Luzon), from the island whereon Manilla is, and in opposition to Spain (*Ta Leu song*, *the great L. s.*), *Seao Leu song*, *the small Leu song*. It may be doubted whether *Leu song* without *Ta*, *great*, can be taken for Spain. The Chinese have moreover learned from Matthæus Ricci the proper name of Spain, and write it *She pan ya*. The Dutch, the English, and the Germans, are, from a reddish colour of their hair, called *Hung maou*. This peculiar colour of the hair found among people of German origin, is often spoken of by the ancient

Roman authors; as for instance in Tacitus, Germania, c. 4. Juvenal says, Sat. XIII. v. 164,

> Cærula quis stupuit Germani lumina? *flavam*
> *Cæsariem*, et madido torquentem cornua cirro?

It would carry us too far at present to translate the statements of the Chinese concerning the Portuguese and Dutch. Under the head of *Se yang*, or Portugal, may be read an extract of the account of Europe (Gow lo pa) the Chinese received by Paulus Matthæus Ricci (*Le ma paou*). The Chinese know that the European Universities are divided into four faculties; and his Excellency Yuen is aware of the great similarity between the ceremonies of the Buddhists and those of the Roman Catholic church (l. c. 17 v). The present Translator of the "History of the Pirates" intends to translate the whole of the 57th book of the often-quoted Memoirs, and to subjoin copious extracts of other works,

particularly from the *Hae kwŏ hëen këen lŭh*, or "Memoirs concerning the Empires surrounded by the Ocean." This very interesting small work is divided into two books; one containing the text, and the other the maps. The text consists of eight chapters, including a description of the sea-coast of China, with a map, constructed on a large scale, of the nations to the east, the south-east, and the south; then follows a topography of Portugal and Europe generally. Concerning England we find:—

The Kingdom of the Ying keih le, or English.

"The kingdom of the *Ying keih le* is a de-
"pendent or tributary state* to *Ho lan* (Hol-

* This statement is so extraordinary, that the Translator thought it necessary to compare many passages where the character *shŭh* (8384 M.) occurs. Shŭh originally means, according to the *Shwŏ wăn, near, joining;* and *Shŭh kwŏ*, are, according to Dr. Morrison, "small states attached to and dependent on a larger one: tributary states." The character *shŭh* is often used in the same signification in the 57th book of our work. The description of the Peninsula of Malacca begins (Mem. b. 57, p. 15 r.) with the

" land). Their garments and manners in eating
" and drinking are the same. This kingdom
" is rather rich. The males use much cloth
" and like to drink wine. The females, before
" marriage, bind the waist, being desirous to
" look slender; their hair hangs in curls over
" the neck; they use a short garment and
" petticoats, but dress in a larger cloth when
" they go out. They take snuff out of boxes
" made from gold and threads."

This extract is taken from the "*Register of the Tribute as recorded under the present dynasty.*"

" *Ying keih le* is a kingdom composed of three
" islands: it is in the middle of four kingdoms,

following words: "*Mwan lă kea* (Malacca) is in the southern sea, and was originally a tributary state (shŭh kwŏ) of *Sëen lo*, or Siam; but the officer who there had the command revolted and founded a distinct kingdom." In the war which the Siamese some years back carried on against the Sultan of Guedah, they always affirmed that the King of Siam is, by his own right, the legitimate sovereign of the whole peninsula of Malacca, and that the Sultan must only be considered as a rebel against his liege. The statement of the Chinese author, therefore, corroborates the assertions of the Siamese.

" called *Lin yin*:* *Hwang ke*, the *yellow flag*
" (Denmark), *Ho lan*, and *Fo lang se*. The
" *Great Western Ocean* (Europe) worships the
" Lord of Heaven; and there are, firstly,
" *She pan ya* (Spain), *Poo keŭh ya* (Portugal),
" the *yellow flag*, &c.; but there are too many
" kingdoms to nominate them one by one. Ying
" keih le is a kingdom which produces silver,
" woollen cloths,† camlets, *peih ke*, or English
" cloth, called long ells,‡ glass, and other
" things of this kind."

This extract is taken from the *Hae kwŏ hĕen kĕen lŭh*, book i. p. 34 v. 35 r; and I am sorry to see that in the " Memoirs" it is abbreviated in such a manner that the sense is materially changed.

* On the *General Map of the Western Sea (Se hae tsung too) Lin yin* takes the place of Sweden. I cannot conceive what can be the cause of that denomination. *Lin yin*, perhaps, may mean the island *Rugen?*

† The common word for cloth, *to lo ne*, seems to be of Indian origin; it is certainly not Chinese. The proper Chinese name is *jung*.

‡ *Peih ke* is written with various characters. See Morrison's Dictionary, under the word Peih, 8509.

" *Ying keih le,*" says the author of the *Hae kwo hëen këen lüh* (l. c.), " is a realm composed out " of three islands. To the west and the north " of the four kingdoms of *Lin yin*, the *Yellow* " *flag*, *Holan*, and *Fo lang se*, is the ocean. From " Lin yin the ocean takes its direction to the " east, and surrounds *Go lo sse* (Russia); and " from Go lo sse, yet more to the east, *Se me le* " (Siberia?). Through the northern sea you can- " not sail; the sea is frozen, and does not " thaw, and for this reason it is called the " *Frozen Ocean*. From Lin yin, to the south, " are the various empires of the *Woo* and *Kwei* " (*Crows* and *Demons*), and they all belong " to *the red-haired people* of the *Great Western* " *Ocean*. On the west and on the north there " are different barbarians under various names;

* * * * * *

" but they are, in one word, similar to the " Go lo sse (Russians), who stay in the metro- " polis (Pekin). It is said that the *Kaou chun* " *peih mow* (?) are similar to the inhabitants of " the *Middle Empire*; they are of a vigorous " body and an ingenious mind. All that they

" produce is fine and strong; their attention is
" directed to making fire-arms. They make
" researches in astronomy and geography, and
" generally they do not marry. Every king-
" dom has a particular language, and they greet
" one another by taking off the hat. They
" worship," &c. (The same as p. xxx.)

My copy of the *Hae kwŏ hëen këen lŭh* was printed in the province *Che keang*, in the year 1794.

" In the narrative regarding foreign countries,
" and forming part of the history of the Ming,
" the English are called *Yen go le;* in the *Hae*
" *kwŏ hëen këen lŭh*, Ying ke le (5272, 6950);
" but in the maps the name is now always
" written *Ying keih le* (5018, 6947). In express-
" ing the sound of words we sometimes use
" different characters. This kingdom lies to the
" west of *Gow lo pa* (Europa), and was originally
" a tributary state to Ho lan (Holland); but in
" the course of time it became richer and more
" powerful than *Ho lan*, and revolted. These

" kingdoms are, therefore, enemies. It is not
" known at what time the Ying keih le grasped
" the country of North *O mŏ le kea* (America),
" which is called *Kea no* (Canada). Great
" *Ying keih le* is a kingdom of Gow lo pa
" (Europe.)* In the twelfth year of *Yung ching*
" (1735), they came the first time to Canton
" for trade. Their country produces wheat,
" with which they trade to all the neighbour-
" ing countries. They are generally called
" *Keang heŏ* (that is, English ships from India,
" or country ships), and there arrive many
" vessels."

This extract is taken from the *Tan chay hëen këen lŭh*, and it is all that we find regarding England in the Memoirs concerning the south of the Meiling Mountains (p. 18 r. v.). In the latter extract, the author appears to confound the country trade of India and China with that of

* The syllable *lo* is not in the Chinese text, as it is supposed, by a mistake of the printer.

the mother country. England is again mentioned in the notice regarding Me le keih (America), taken out of Yuen's History of Canton. It is there said, that the Me le keih passed, in the 52d year of Këen lung (1788), the Bocca Tigris, and that they then separated from the Ying keih le (p. 19 r.) At the end of the extract concerning the Americans (p. 190) we read the following words:

" The characters which are used in the writ-
" ings of these realms are, according to the
" statements of *Ma lo ko, twenty-six;* all sounds
" can be sufficiently expressed by these cha-
" racters. Every realm has large and small
" characters; they are called *La ting* cha-
" racters, and *La te na* (Latin) characters."

It is pleasing to observe that his Excellency Yuen had some knowledge of Dr. Morrison's Dictionary. In the third part of his Dictionary, Dr. Morrison has given, in Chinese, a short and clear notice

concerning the European alphabet. Yuen seems to have taken his statements from this notice, and to have written the name of the author, by a mistake, *Ma lo ko*, for *Ma le so*, as Dr. Morrison is generally called by the Chinese.

The Man ying, the Double Eagle, or Austrians.

" The *Man ying* passed the Bocca Tigris the " first time in the 45th year of Këen lung (1781), " and are called *Ta chen* (*Teutchen*). They " have accepted the religion of the Lord of " Heaven. In customs and manners they are " similar to the Se yang, or Portuguese; they " are the brethren of the Tan ying, or *Single* " *eagle kingdom* (Prussia); in difficulties and " distress they help one another. Their ships " which came to Canton had a white flag, on " which an eagle was painted with two heads."

This extract is taken from the History of *Yuen*. I take the liberty to observe, that the Chinese scholar must be careful

not to take the *Sui chen*, or *Chen kwŏ* (the Swedes), for the *Ta chen* (the *Teutchen*). In the *Memoirs*, l. c. p. 19 v., we read the following notice on the *Chen kwŏ* (the Swedes):

" The *Chen* realm is also called *Tan* (Den-
" mark) realm, and now the *yellow flag*. This
" country is opposite to that of the *Ho lan*, and
" a little farther off from the sea. There are
" two realms called *Sui chen*, and they border
" both on the *Go lo sse*, or Russia. They
" passed the Bocca Tigris the first year of
" Këen lung (1765)."

The Tan ying, the Single Eagle or Prussians.

" The Tan ying passed the Bocca Tigris the
" 52d year of Këen lung (1788.) They live
" to the west and north of the Man ying (Aus-
" trians). In customs and manners they are
" similar to them. On their ships flies a white
" flag, on which an eagle is painted."

This last extract is also taken from

the History of Canton, published by his Excellency Yuen.

If we consider how easily the Chinese could procure information regarding foreign countries during the course of the two last centuries, and then see how shamefully they let pass all such opportunities to inform and improve themselves, we can only look upon these proud slaves of hereditary customs with the utmost disgust and contempt. The ancient Britons and Germans had no books; yet what perfect descriptions of those barbarian nations have been handed down to us by the immortal genius of Tacitus! Montesquieu says, that "in Cæsar and Tacitus we read the code of barbarian laws; and in the code we read Cæsar and Tacitus." In the statement of the modern Chinese regarding foreign nations, we see, on the contrary, both the want of enquiry, and the childish

remarks of unenlightened and uncultivated minds.*

* It may be remarked, that Cosmas, about the middle of the sixth century, had a better idea concerning the Chinese empire, or the country of *Tsin*, than the Chinese have even now of Europe. Such an advantage was it to be born a Greek and not a Chinese. Cosmas seems very well informed concerning the articles of trade which the Chinese generally bring to Serendib, or Serendwîpa (Ceylon). He remarks, that farther than China there exists no other country; that on the east it is surrounded by the ocean; and that Ceylon is nearly as far from the Persian gulf as from Tziniza or China. See the description of Taprobane, taken from the Christian Topography, and printed in Thevenot "Relations de divers Voyages," vol. i. pp. 2, 3, and 5. The Chinese about Canton have a custom of ending every phrase with a long *a* (*a* is pronounced like *a* in Italian) which is merely euphonic, like *yay* (11980) in the Mandarine dialect. If a Chinese should be asked about his country, he would answer according to the different dynasties, Tsin-a, Han-a, Tang-a, Ming-a, &c. *Tsin-a* is probably the origin of *Tziniza*. It is a little strange that Rennel takes no notice of the statements of Cosmas. (See the Geographical System of Herodotus I. 223, Second Edition, London, 1830.) Is it not very remarkable, that this merchant and monk seems to have also had very correct information concerning the north-west frontier of China, and of the conquest which the Huns (in Sanscrit Hûnas) have made in the north-west part of Hindostan? He reckons from China, through Tartary and Bactria to Persia, 150 stations, or days' journies. About the time of Cosmas, an intercourse commenced between China and Persia.

YING HING SOO's PREFACE.

In the summer of the year *Ke sze* (1809),* I returned from the capital, and having passed the chain of mountains,† I learned the extraordinary disturbances caused by the *Pirates*. When I came home I saw with mine own eyes all the calamities; four villages were totally destroyed; the inhabitants collected together

* In prefaces and rhetorical exercises, the Chinese commonly call the years by the names employed in the well-known cycle of sixty years. The first cycle is supposed to have begun with the year 2697 before Christ. In the year 1804, the ninth year of Kea kïng, was the beginning of the thirty-sixth cycle.—Histoire générale de la Chine, XII. p. 3 and 4.

† The *Mei ling* mountains, which divide the province Kwang tung from the province Këang se. See Note in the beginning of the History of the Pirates.

and made preparations for resistance. Fighting at last ceased on seas and rivers: families and villages rejoiced, and peace was every where restored. Hearing of our naval transactions, every man desired to have them written down in a history; but people have, until this day, looked in vain for such a work.

Meeting once, at a public inn in Whampo,* with one *Yuen tsze*, we conversed together, when he took a volume in his hand, and asked me to read it. On opening the work, I saw that it contained a *History of the Pirates;* and reading it to the end, I found that the occurrences of those times were therein recorded from day to day, and that our naval transactions are there faithfully reported. Yuen tsze supplied the defect I stated

* The place where European ships lie at anchor in the river of Canton, and one of the few spots which foreigners are allowed to visit.

before, and anticipated what had occupied my mind for a long time. The affairs concerning the robber *Lin* are described by the non-official historian *Lan e*, in his *Tsing yih ke*, viz. in the *History of the Pacification of the Robbers.** Respectfully looking to the commands of heaven, *Lan e*

* I translate the Chinese words *Wae she*, by *non-official historian*, in opposition to the *Kwŏ she*, or *She kwan*, the official historiographers of the empire. Both *Yuen tsze*, author of the following History of the Pirates, and *Lan e*, author of the work which is referred to in the preface, are such *Public historians*, who write—like most of the historians of Europe—the history of their own times, without being appointed to or paid for by government.

Lan e gives the history of the civil commotions under Kĕa king, which continued from the year 1814 to 1817, in six books; the work is printed in two small volumes, in the first year of Tao kwang (1820), and the following contains the greater part of the preface:

" In the spring of the year *Kea su* (1814), I went with other people to Peking; reaching the left side of the (Mei ling) mountains we met with fellow travellers, who joined the army, and with many military preparations. In the capital I learned that the robber *Lin* caused many disturbances; I took great care to ascertain what was said by the people of the court, and by the officers of government, and I wrote down what I heard. But being apprehensive that I might publish truth and falsehood mixed together, I went in the year *Ting chow* (1817) again to the metropolis, and read attentively the imperial account of the *Pacification of the Robber-bands*, planned the occurrences according to the time in which they happened, joined to it what I heard from other

made known, for all future times, the faithful and devoted servants of government. Yuen tsze's work is a supplement to the History of the Pacification of the Robbers, and you may rely on whatever therein is reported, whether it be of great or little consequence. Yuen tsze has overlooked nothing; and I dare to say, that all people will rejoice at the publication. Having written these introductory lines to the said work, I returned it to Yuen tsze.*

sources, and composed out of these various matters a work in six books, on the truth of which you may rely."

Lan e begins his work with the history of those rebels called *Téen le keaou (the Doctrine of Nature)*. They were divided into eight divisions, according to the eight Kwas, and placed under three captains, or chiefs, of whom the first was called *Lin tsing*—the same *Lin* who is mentioned in the preface of *Soo*. These followers of the doctrine of Nature believed implicitly in an absurd book written by a robber, in which it was stated, that the Buddha who should come after Shakia (in Chinese called *Me lih*, in Sanscrit *Maëtreya*) is in possession of three seas, the *blue*, the *red*, and the *white*. These seas are the three Kalpas; we now live in the *white* Kalpa. These robbers, therefore, carried *white* banners. *Tsing yth ke*, B. i., p. i.

* The Translator thinks it his duty to observe, that this preface,

Written at the time of the fifth summer moon, the tenth year of Tao kwang, called Kăng yin (September 1830).

A respectful Preface of *Ying hing Soo*, from *Peih keang*.

being printed in characters written in the current hand, he tried in vain to make out some abbreviations; he is, therefore, not quite certain if the last phrase beginning with the words: "*Yuen tsze has overlooked nothing*," &c. be correctly translated.

KING CHUNG HO's* PREFACE.

My house being near the sea, we were, during the year *Ke sze* of Këa king (1809), disturbed by the Pirates. The whole coast adjoining to our town was in confusion, and the inhabitants dispersed; this lasting for a long time, every man felt annoyed at it. In the year *Kăng yin* (1830) I met with *Yuen tsze yung lun* at a public inn within the walls of the provincial

* The names of authors of Prefaces, as well as of works themselves, which are not authorized by government, are often fictitious. Who would dare to publish or recommend any thing under his own name, which could displease any of the officers of the Chinese government? The author of the following Preface has a high-sounding title: "He, whose heart is directed towards the people."

metropolis (Canton). He showed me his *History of the Pacification of the Pirates*, and asked me to write a Preface to the work; having been a schoolfellow of his in my tender age, I could not refuse his request. Opening and reading the volume, I was moved with recollections of occurrences in former days, and I was pleased with the diligence and industry of *Yuen keun*.* The author was so careful to combine what he had seen and heard, that I venture to say it is an historical work on which you may rely.

We have the collections of former historians, who in a fine style described things as they happened, that by such faithful accounts the world might be governed, and the minds of men enlightened.

* *Keun*, or *Tsze*, are only titles, like those of *Master* and *Doctor* in the European languages. *Keun* is, in the Canton dialect, pronounced *Kwa*, which, placed behind the family names of the *Hong*, or *Hing* (3969) merchants, gives *How qwa*, or *How kwa*, *Mow kwa*, &c., which literally means "Mr. How, Mr. Mow."

People may learn by these vast collections * what should be done, and what not. It is, therefore, desirable that facts may be arranged in such a manner, that books should give a faithful account of what happened. There are magistrates who risk their life, excellent females who maintain their virtue, and celebrated individuals who protect their native places with a strong hand; they behave themselves valiantly, and overlook private considerations, if the subject concerns the welfare of the people at large. Without darkness, there is no light; without virtue, there is no splendour. In the course of time we have

* I presume that the author of the Preface alludes to the *twenty-three* large historical collections, containing the official publications regarding history and general literature. I have brought with me from Canton this vast collection of works, which are now concluded by the *History of the Ming*. It must be acknowledged that no other nation has, or had, such immense libraries devoted to history and geography. The histories of ancient Greece and Rome are pamphlets in comparison with the *Url shih san she* of the Chinese.

heard of many persons of such qualities; but how few books exist by which the authors benefit their age!

This is the Preface respectfully written by *King chung ho*, called *Sin joo min*,* at the time of the second decade, the first month of the autumn, the year *Kăng yin* (September 1830) of Tao kwang.†

* See the first Note to this preface.

† In the original Chinese now follows a sort of Introduction, or Contents (*Fan le*), which I thought not worth translating. It is written by the author of the *History of the Pacification of the Pirates*, who signs by his title *Jang sëen*.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE CHINESE PIRATES.

BOOK FIRST.

THERE have been pirates from the oldest (1 r.)
times in the eastern sea of Canton; they arose and disappeared alternately, but never were they so formidable as in the years of Këa king,* at which time, being closely united together, it was indeed very difficult to destroy them. Their origin must be sought for in Annam.† In the

* This prince was declared Emperor on the 8th February 1796, by his father the Emperor Këen lung, who then retired from the management of public affairs.—Voyage of the Dutch Embassy to China, in 1794-5; London edition, I. 223. Këa king died on the 2d of September 1820, being sixty-one years of age. His second son ascended the Imperial throne six days after the death of his father; the years of his reign were first called *Yuen hwuy*, but soon changed to *Taou kwang—Illustrious Reason.* Indo-Chinese Gleaner, vol. iii. 41.

† Annam (Chinese, An nan) comprehends the country of Cochin-China and Tungking. There have been many disturbances in

year fifty-six of Këen lung (1792), a certain Kwang ping yuen, joined by his two brothers, Kwang e and Kwang kwŏ, took Annam by force,
(1 v.) and expelled its legitimate king Wei ke le.* Le retired into the province Kwang se, and was made a general by our government. But his younger brother Fuh ying came in the sixth year of Këa king (1802) with an army from Siam and Laos,† and killed Kwang ping in a great battle.

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these countries within the last fifty years. The English reader may compare the interesting historical sketch of modern Cochin-China in Barrow's *Voyage to Cochin-China*, p. 250.

* The origin of this family may be seen in a notice of Cochin-china and Tung king by father Gaubil, in the "Lettres Edifiantes," and in the last volume of the French translation of the Kang mŭh. Annam had been conquered by Chinese colonies, and its civilization is therefore Chinese. This was already stated in Tavernier's masterly description of Tunking, "Recueil de plusieurs Relations," Paris, 1679, p. 168. Leyden, not knowing Chinese, has made some strange mistakes in his famous dissertation regarding the languages and literature of Indo-Chinese nations. Asiatic Researches, vol. x. 271, London edition, 1811.

† In Chinese *Lung lae* (7402, 6866 Mor.); this name is taken from the metropolis of this kingdom, called by the European travellers in the beginning of the seventeenth century, *Laniam*, *Laniangh*, or *Lanshang*. Robt. Kerr, General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Edinburgh, 1813, vol. viii. 446, 449.—The Burmas call this country Layn-sayn; "Buchanan on the Religion and Literature of the Burmas." Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. 226, London edition, 1810, 4to. The kingdom of Laos was conquered about the end of the year 1828, by the Siamese; the

The son of the usurper, called King shing, went on board a ship with the minister Yew kin meih, and Meih joined the pirates, Ching tsih, Tung hae pa, and others, who rambled about these seas at this time. The pirate Ching tsih was appointed a king's officer, under the name of *master of the stables*. King shing, relying on the force of his new allies, which consisted of about two hundred vessels, manned (2 r.) with a resolute and warlike people, returned in the twelfth moon of the same year (1803) into that country with an armed force, and joined by Ching tsih, at night time took possession of the bay of Annam. The legitimate king Fuh ying collected an army, but being beaten repeatedly, he tried in vain to retire to Laos.

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king, his two principal wives, his sons, and grandsons, amounting in all to fourteen persons, were cruelly killed at Bangkok. The Protestant missionaries, Thomlin and Guzlaff, saw nine of the relations of the king in a cage at Bangkok, the 30th of January, 1829. The First Report of the Singapore Christian Union, Singapore, 1830, Appendix xv. Is *Lang lae* a mistake for *Lŭh lae*, which is mentioned in the *Hae kwŏ hëen këen*, p. 214? There occurs no *Lung lae* in this work; where the Indo-Chinese nations are described under the title *Nan yan she;* i. e. History of the Southern ocean.

Ching tsih being a man who had lived all his life on the water, behaved himself, as soon as he got possession of the bay of Annam, in a tyrannical way to the inhabitants; he took what he liked, and, to say it in one word, his will alone was law. His followers conducted themselves in the same manner; trusting to their power and strength, they were cruel and violent against the people; they divided the whole population among themselves, and took their wives and daughters by force. The inhabitants felt very much annoyed at this behaviour, and attached themselves more strongly to Fuh ying. They fixed a day on which some of the king's officers should make an attack on the sea-side, while the king himself with his general was to fight the van of the enemy, the
(2 v.) people to rise *en masse*, and to run to arms, in order that they should be overwhelming by their numbers. Fuh ying was delighted at these tidings, and on the appointed day a great battle was fought, in which Ching tsih not being able to superintend all from the rear-guard to the van, and the people pressing besides very hard

towards the centre, he was totally vanquished and his army destroyed. He himself died of a wound which he received in the battle. His younger brother Ching yĭh, the usurper, King shing, and his nephew Pang shang, with many others ran away. Ching yĭh, their chief, joined the pirates with his followers, who in these times robbed and plundered on the ocean indiscriminately. This was a very prosperous period for the pirates. So long as Wang pëaou remained admiral in these seas, all was peace and quietness both on the ocean and the sea-shore. The admiral gained repeated victories over the ban- (3 r.)
dits; but as soon as Wang pëaou died, the pirates divided themselves into different squadrons, which sailed under various colours. There existed six large squadrons, under different flags, the *red*, the *yellow*, the *green*, the *blue*, the *black*, and the *white*. These wasps of the ocean were called after their different commanders, *Ching yĭh*, *Woo che tsing*, *Meih yew kin*, *O po tai*, *Lëang paou*, and *Le shang tsing*. To every one of these large squadrons belonged smaller ones, commanded by a deputy. Woo

che tsing, whose nick-name was *Tung hae pa*, the *Scourge of the Eastern Sea*,* was commander of the *yellow* flag, and Le tsung hoo his deputy. Meih yew kin and Nëaou shih, who for this reason was called *Bird* and *stone*, were the commanders of the *blue* flag, and their deputies Meih's brethren, Yew kwei and Yew këe. A certain Hae kang and another person Hwang ho, were employed as spies. O po tai, who afterwards changed his name to *Lustre of instruction*,† was
(3 v.) the commander of the *black* flag, and Ping yung ta, Chang jih këaou, and O tsew he, were his deputies. Lëang paou, nicknamed Tsung ping paou, *The jewel of the whole crew*, was the com-

* People living in the same state of society, have usually the same customs and manners. It is said of the celebrated *Buccaneers*, that they laid aside their surnames, and assumed nicknames, or martial names. Many, however, on their marrying, took care to have their real surnames inserted in the marriage contract; and this practice gave occasion to a proverb still current in the French Antilles, *a man is not to be known till he takes a wife*. See the Voyages and Adventures of William Dampier, and History of the Buccaneers, p. 87. Women cut the characters for common Chinese books; and, therefore, the Chinese say, so many mistakes are found in ordinary publications. The character *pa* (8123) in *Tung hae pa* is by such a mistake always written *pĭh* (8527).

† He called himself Hëo hëen (3728, 3676,) after having received a recompense from government for his robberies. See p. 75.

mander of the *white* flag. Le shang tsing, nicknamed *The frog's meal,* was the commander of the *green;* and Ching yĭh of the *red* flag. Every flag was appointed to cruise in a particular channel. There was at this time a gang of robbers in the province Fo këen, known by the name of Kwei këen (6760, 5822); they also joined the pirates, who became so numerous that it was impossible to master them. We must in particular mention a certain *Chang paou,* a notorious character in after-times. Under Chang paou were other smaller squadrons, commanded by Suh ke lan (nicknamed *Both odour and mountain)* Lëang po paou, Suh puh gow, and others. Chang paou himself belonged to the squadron of Ching yĭh saou, or the *wife of Ching yĭh,** so that the red flag alone was stronger than all the others united together.

There are three water passages or channels (4 r.) along the sea-shore, south of the Meiling mountains;† one goes eastward to *Hwy* and

* Our author anticipates here a little; this will be clear by a subsequent paragraph, p. 13.

† *Shan* is a mountain in Chinese; *Ling* is a chain of mountains or *sierra.* The Chinese geographers say, the Meiling mountain

Chaou ;* the other westward to *Kao, Lëen, Luy,*

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branches out like a tree; and they describe in particulary two, the south-east and the south-west branches from Canton. They speak likewise of Woo Ling, or five sierras, in reference to five different passes by which these mountains are divided; but there are now more passes. See a compilation, already quoted, regarding Canton, made by order of the former governor *Yuen*, and printed at Canton last year, 1830, in eighty books, under the title *Ling nan y ung shuh :* i. e. *Memoirs regarding the South of the Sierra*, book 5. vol. ii, p. 1.

* The Chinese possess itineraries and directories for the whole empire, for every province, and for every large town or place; I shall therefore always extract the notices which are to be found in the *Itinerary of the Province Kwang tung (Kwang tung tsuen too,)* referring to the places mentioned in our text.

Hwy is *Hwy chow foo*, from Pekin 6365 le, and easterly from Canton 400 le; one town of the second, and ten towns of the third rank are appended to this district-metropolis. The whole district pays 14,321 leang, or tael. Here is the celebrated *Lo fow* mountain. Lo fow consists really of two united mountains, of which one is called *Lo* and the other *Fow*, said to be three thousand six hundred *chang* in height, or 36,000 feet (?). The circumference is about 500 le. Here are the sixteen caverns where the dragon dwells, spoken of in the books of the Tao sect. You meet on these mountains with bamboo from seventy to eighty feet in circumference. Kwang tung tsuen too, p. 5v.

Chaou is *Chaou chow foo*, from Pekin 8,540 and easterly from Canton 1,740 le; eleven towns of the third rank belong to it. The whole district pays 65,593 leang, or tael. A tael is equal to 5·798 decimal, troy weight; and in the East-India Company's accounts the tael of silver is reckoned at six shillings and eightpence sterling. *Foo* is the Chinese name for the first class of towns; *Chow* for the second, *Heen* for the third. I sometimes have translated *Chow* by district-town, and *Heen* by borough, or market-town.

Këung, *Kin*, *Tan*, *Yae* and *Wan*;* and a third between these two, to *Kwang* and *Chow*.† The

* *Kaou* is *Kaou chow foo*, from Pekin 7,767, north-west from Canton 930 le; the district, and five towns of the third class, paying together 62,566 leang, are dependent on the district-metropolis.

Lëen is *Lëen chow foo*, from Pekin 9,065, from Canton 1,515 le; the district and two towns, paying together 1,681 leang, are dependent on the district-metropolis.

Luy is *Luy chow foo*, from Pekin 8,210, westerly from Canton 1,380 le; the district and its towns, paying together 13,706 leang, are dependent on the district-metropolis.

Këung is *Këung chow foo*, the capital of the island *Hae nan* or Hainan, from Pekin 9,690, south-west from Canton 1,680 le; three district towns, and ten towns of the third class, paying together 89,447 leang, are dependent on this capital. There is a town also called *Këung shan hëen*, and both town and capital take their name from the mountain *Këung*.

Kin is *Kin chow*, dependent on *Lëen chow foo*, and far from it 140 le.

Tan is *Tan chow*, a town of Hainan, south-west from the capital 370 le; the area of the town is 31 le.

Yae is *Yae chow*, a town of Hainan, southerly from the capital of the island 1,114 le. About this town many pirates have their lurking-place. This circumstance may have caused the mistake of Captain Krusenstern, stating that in A.D. 1805, the pirates who infest the coast of China had obtained possession of the whole island of Hainan.

Wan is *Wan chow*, a town of Hainan, in a south-easterly direction from the capital of the island 470 le.

† *Kwang* is *Kwang tung sǎng*, or the metropolis of the province Kwang tung (Canton). Ten departments (foo), nine districts (chow), and seventy-eight towns of the third class (hëen), are dependent on the provincial city, and pay together in land-tax 1,272,696 leang, excise 47,510 leang, and in other miscellaneous taxes

ocean surrounds these passages, and here trading vessels from all the world meet together, wherefore this track is called "*The great meet-*

5,990 leang. The import duties from the sea-side with measurement of foreign vessels is said in the *Kwang tung tsuen too*, p. 3v, to amonnt to 43,750 leang. All duties together of the province of Canton amount to 1,369,946 taels, about £450,000. The lists of population gave last October (1830) 23,000,000 (?) for the whole province, and we now see that the Chinese pay less duties (every inhabitant about fourpence halfpenny) than the population of any country of Europe. I received the population lists from *Ahong*, an intelligent Chinese, well known to the English residents at Canton. Distance from Pekin about 6,835 le.

The subject concerning the population of China, and the amount of the *land-rent*, the *poll-tax*, and other miscellaneous taxes, is surrounded by so many difficulties, that the writer of this dares not to affirm any thing about these matters until he has perused the new edition of *Tay tsing hwy tëen*. For the present he will merely remark, that in book 141, p. 38, of the said work, the population of China Proper for the year 1793 is reckoned at 307,467,200. If we add to this number the population of Chinese Tartary, it will certainly amount to the round number of 333,000,000, as reported by Lord Macartney.

Chow is *chow king foo*, from Pekin about 4,720, north-west from Canton 360 le. There is certainly some mistake in the Chinese Itinerary; how could Canton be only 6,835, and Chow king foo 7420 le? The imperial edition of the Tay tsing hwy tëen (book 122, p. 6 v.) only gives 5,494 le as the distance from Canton to Pekin; there seems to be a different sort of le. The district and eleven towns of the third class, paying together 162,392 leang depend on the district metropolis.

With the aid of the Chinese Itineraries and the new edition of the *Tay tsing hwy tëen* (printed 1797, in 360 large volumes) it would be an easy task to compile a "Chinese Gazetteer."

ing from the east and the south." The piratical squadrons dividing between them the water passages and the adjoining coasts, robbed and carried away all that fell into their hands. Both the eastern and the middle passage have been retained by the three piratical squadrons, Ching yĭh saou, O po tae, and Leang paou ; the western passage was under the three others, nicknamed *Bird and stone, Frog's meal,* and *the Scourge of the* (4 v.) *eastern sea.* Peace and quietness was not known by the inhabitants of the sea-coast for a period of ten years. On the side from *Wei chow* and *Neaou chow* * farther on to the sea, the passage was totally cut off; scarcely any man came hither. In this direction is a small island, surrounded on all sides by high mountains, where in stormy weather a hundred vessels find a safe anchorage ; here the pirates retired when they could not commit any robberies. This land contains fine paddy fields, and abounds in all kinds of animals, flowers, and fruits. This

* I found no particulars concerning these two small *islands* (Chow signifies island) in the Canton Itinerary; and I looked in vain on the great map of the Chinese sea-coast in the Hae kwŏ hëen këen for their position.

island was the lurking-place of the robbers, where they stayed and prepared all the stores for their shipping.

(5 r.) Chang paou was a native of Sin hwy, near the mouth of the river,* and the son of a fisherman. Being fifteen years of age, he went with his father a fishing in the sea, and they were consequently taken prisoners by Ching yĭh, who roamed about the mouth of the river, ravaging and plundering. Ching yĭh saw Paou, and liked him so much, that he could not depart from him. Paou was indeed a clever fellow—he managed all business very well; being also a fine young man, he became a favourite of Ching yĭh,† and was made a head-man or captain. It happened, that on the seventeenth day of the tenth moon, in the twentieth year of Këa king
1807. (about the end of 1807), Ching yĭh perished in

* The town *Sin hwy* is south-west from Canton 230 le; its area is 138 le (?) and the taxes amount to 28,607 leang. This place suffered much from the pirates. I find no proper name for the river on which Sin hwy lies in the Chinese maps, it is merely called *Këang*, river. Near this place is the island where the last emperor of the Sung cast himself into the sea (1280).

† The word *pe* (8335) cannot be translated in any European language. It means a vice common in Asia.

a heavy gale, and his legitimate wife *Shïh* placed the whole crew under the sway of Paou; but so that she herself should be considered the Commander of all the squadrons together,— for this reason the division Ching yih was then called *Ching yïh saou*, or *the wife of Ching yïh*.* Being chief captain, Paou robbed and plundered incessantly, and daily increased his men and his vessels. He made the three following regulations:— 1807. (5 v.)

First:

If any man goes privately on shore, or what is called transgressing the bars, he shall be taken and his ears be perforated in the presence of the whole fleet; repeating the same act, he shall suffer death.

Second:

Not the least thing shall be taken privately from the stolen and plundered goods. All shall be registered, and the pirate receive for himself, out of

* The pirates probably made use of the term *saou* (8833) and not of *tse* (10575), because *saou* written with a different character (8834), is the general term for boats and ships. *Paou* must be considered as the lieutenant or first minister of Mistress *Ching*, she being herself of the family *Shïh*.

1807. *ten parts, only two; eight parts belong to the store-house, called the general fund; taking any thing out of this general fund, without permission, shall be death.*

Third:

No person shall debauch at his pleasure captive women taken in the villages and open places, and
(6 r.) *brought on board a ship; he must first request the ship's purser for permission, and then go aside in the ship's hold. To use violence against any woman, or to wed her without permission, shall be punished with death.**

That the pirates might never feel want of provisions, Chang paou gained the country people to their interest. It was ordered, that wine, rice, and all other goods, should be paid for to the villagers; it was made capital punishment to take any thing of this kind by force or without paying for it. For this reason the pirates were never in want of gunpowder, provisions, and all

* It will be very interesting to compare the regulations of Paou with those of the Buccaneers. When these pirates had got a considerable booty, each person, holding up his hand, solemnly protested that he had secreted nothing of what he had taken.—Voyage, l. c. p. 95.

other necessaries. By this strong discipline the whole crew of the fleet was kept in order. 1807.

The wife of Ching yĭh was very strict in every transaction; nothing could be done without a written application. Anything which had been taken, or plundered, was regularly entered on the register of the storehouse. The pirates received out of this common fund what they were in need of, and nobody dared to have private possessions. If on a piratical expedition any man left the line of battle, whether by advancing or receding, every pirate might accuse him at a general meeting, and on being found guilty, he was beheaded. Knowing how watchful Chang paou was on every side, the pirates took great care to behave themselves well. (6 v.)

The pirates used to call the purser, or secretary of the storehouse, *Ink and writing master*; and they called their piratical plunder only *a transhipping of goods*.

There was a temple in *Hwy chow* dedicated to the *spirits of the three mothers*,* near the sea-

† The *San po* (8788, 8608) are national spirits, and, as it seems, not connected with Buddhism; there is a great variety in the

1807. coast, and many came thither to worship. The pirates visited this place whenever they passed it with their vessels, pretending to worship; but this was not the case—they thought of mischief, and had only their business to attend. Once they came with the commander at their head, as if to worship, but they laid hold on the image or statue to take it away. They tried in vain from morning to the evening,—they were all together not able to move it. Chang paou
(7 r.) alone† was able to raise the image, and being a fair wind, he gave order to bring it on board a ship. All who were concerned in this transaction feared to find, from the wrath of the spirit, their death in the piratical expeditions. They all prayed to escape the vengeance of heaven.

1808. On the seventh moon of the thirteenth year,

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number of these good old mothers, who by the different emperors have been declared saints, or spirits, for the Emperor of China is likewise the pope in his empire. Dr. Morrison has an interesting article on these old women in his Canton Vocabulary. *Kang he* mentions only two *Po* (s. v.), who may be considered as spirits. This is a character of which the Buddhists are very fond; perhaps the translator may be wrong, and that *San po* is merely the Sanscrit word *Swayam-bhú*.

‡ Our author shews every where his partiality for Chang paou.

the naval officer of the garrison at the Bocca Tigris,* Kwŏ lang lin, sailed into the sea to fight the pirates. Chang paou was informed by his spies of this officer's arrival, and prepared an ambush in a sequestered bay. He met Kwŏ lang on a false attack, with a few vessels only; but twenty-five vessels came from behind, and the pirates surrounded Kwŏ lang's squadron in three lines near Ma chow yang.‡ There followed a fierce battle, which lasted from the morning to the evening; it was impossible for Kwŏ lang to break through the enemy's lines, and he determined to die fighting. Paou advanced; but Lang fought exceedingly hard against him. He loaded a gun and fired it at Paou, who perceiv- 1808. (7 v.)

* The author said just before that the dominion of the pirates in the Chinese sea lasted about ten years; but he only describes the transactions of the last three years, when their power and strength was at the highest point. He begins to give particulars from the 7th moon of the 13th year of Kĕa king, which corresponds nearly to the beginning of September 1808.

† There are three wretched forts at the Hoo mun, the mouth of the Canton river, which could scarcely hinder any European vessel from passing through.

‡ One of the islands marked upon European maps is called *The Ladrones:* these Ladrones, so called from the pirates, have all particular names on Chinese maps.

1808. ing the gun directed against him, gave way. Seeing this, the people thought he was wounded and dying; but as soon as the smoke vanished Paou stood again firm and upright, so that all thought he was a spirit. The pirates instantly grappled Kwŏ lang's ship; Paou was the foremost, and Leang po paou the first to mount the vessel; he killed the helmsman, and took the ship. The pirates crowded about; the commander Kwŏ lang engaging with small arms, much blood was shed. This murderous
(8 r.) battle lasted till night time; the bodies of the dead surrounded the vessels on all sides, and there perished an immense number of the pirates. Between three and five o'clock the pirates had destroyed or sunk three of our vessels. The other officers of Kwŏ being afraid that they also might perish in the sea, displayed not all their strength; so it happened that the pirates making a sudden attack, captured the whole remaining fifteen vessels. Paou wished very much that Kwŏ lang would surrender, but Lang becoming desperate, suddenly seized the pirate by the hair, and grinned at him. The pirate

spoke kindly to him, and tried to soothe him. 1808.
Lang, seeing himself deceived in his expectation, and that he could not attain death by such means, committed suicide,—being then a man of seventy years of age. Paou had really no intention to put Kwŏ lang to death, and he was exceedingly sorry at what happened. "We (8 v.)
others," said Paou, "are like vapours dispersed by the wind; we are like the waves of the sea, roused up by a whirlwind; like broken bamboo-sticks on the sea, we are floating and sinking alternately, without enjoying any rest. Our success in this fierce battle will, after a short time, bring the united strength of government on our neck. If they pursue us in the different windings and bays of the sea—they have maps of them*—should we not get plenty to do? Who will believe that it happened not by my command, and that I am innocent of the death of this officer? Every man will charge me with the wanton murder of a commander, after he had

* In the first preface of the Hae kwŏ hëen këen it is particularly stated, that the map of the sea-coast of China became first known to its editor by the expeditions against the pirates.

1808. been vanquished and his ships taken? And they who have escaped will magnify my cruelty.* If I am charged with the murder of this officer, how could I venture, if I should wish in future times, to submit myself? Would I not be treated
(9 r.) according to the supposed cruel death of Kwŏ lang?"

At the time that Kwŏ lang was fighting very bravely, about ten fisher-boats asked of the major Pang noo of the town Hëang shan,† to lend them the large guns, to assist the commander; but the major being afraid these fishermen might join the pirates,‡ refused their request.

* There are, as is stated in my preface, some vulgar or provincial characters in this history; here (p. 1.) occurs a character not to be found in Kanghe, composed out of the fifty-sixth radical and the group Leaou or Lew (7061, 7203). My whole library being locked up in the Custom-house, I am not able to consult a dictionary of the Canton dialect, therefore the meaning of these characters can only be guessed at by etymology. The etymology of the characters gives sometimes a better meaning than any dictionary, and sometimes it may entirely mislead us; there is no reliance on etymology. Usage is the only master of the Chinese, as of all other languages.

† Hëang shan is a considerable place between Macao and Canton. I passed this town in the beginning of October 1830. Distance from Canton 150 le in an eastern direction.

‡ It was, as we have before stated, the policy of Chang paou to befriend himself, when possible, with the lower sort of people.

And thus it happened, that the commander himself perished with many others. There were in the battle three of my friends: the lieutenant Tao tsae lin, Tseŏ tang hoo, and Ying tang hwang, serving under the former. Lin and Hoo were killed, but Hwang escaped when all was surrounded with smoke, and he it was who told me the whole affair. 1808.

On the eighth moon the general Lin fa went out as commander to make war against the pirates; but on seeing that they were so numerous, he became afraid, and all the other officers felt apprehensions; he therefore tried to retire, but the pirates pursued after, and came up with him near a place called Olang pae.* The vessels in the front attacked the pirates, who were not able to move, for there happened to be a calm. But the pirates leaped into the water, and came swimming towards our vessels. Our commander (9 v.)

* Here the author himself says *Te ming* (9955, 7714) "name of a place." To find out the names of places and persons, and distinguish the titles of the different officers employed by government, is often a very difficult task. The last character in the name of this place, *pae*, is very seldom found; it is the fourth character of the division of eight strokes, rad. 177.—See Kanghe. O is, in the Canton dialect, commonly pronounced like A, in Italian.

1808. not being able to prevent this by force, six vessels were taken; and he himself, with ten other men, were killed by the pirates.

A very large trading vessel called Teaou fa, coming back laden with goods from Annam and Tungking,* had a desperate skirmish with the pirates. Chang paou, knowing very well that he could not take her by force, captured two ferry boats, and the pirates concealed themselves therein. Under the mask of ferrymen the pirates pursued after, and called upon Teaou fa to stop. Fa, confident in her strength, and that victory would be on her side, let the ferrymen come near, as if she had not been aware of the (10 r.) deceit. But as soon as the pirates laid hold of the ropes to board her, the trader's crew made a vigorous resistance, and the pirates could not

* These are large vessels with windows, from 200 to 500 tons; they are called by Europeans by the Chinese name, in the Canton dialect, junks; *chuen* is the Mandarin pronunciation. The foreign trade of Cochin-China and Tung king is almost exclusively with China, that to Siam, Singapur, and Malacca, being inconsiderable. The Cochin-Chinese government tried some years ago to open a regular trade with Calcutta; but this undertaking partly failed on account of the heavy duties on foreign sugar in the possessions of the East-India Company. Sugar is a great article of export in Cochin-China and Siam.

avail themselves of their knives and arrows— 1808.
guns they had not—the vessel being too large. There were killed about ten hands in attacking this vessel, and the pirates retired to their boat; a circumstance which never happened before.

On the second moon of the fourteenth year, 1809.
the admiral *Tsuen mow sun* went on board his flag vessel, called Mih teng, and proceeded with about one hundred other vessels to attack the pirates. They were acquainted with his design by their spies, and gathered together round Wan shan;* the admiral following them in four divisions. The pirates, confident in their numbers, did not withdraw, but on the contrary spread out their line, and made a strong attack. Our commander looked very lightly on them, (10 v.)
yet a very fierce battle followed, in which many were killed and wounded. The ropes and sails having been set on fire by the guns,† the pirates

* On the large map of the coast of China from Corea to Cochin-China, called *Yuen* (12542) *hae tsuen too*, this place is called *Lao wan shan*, "the old ten thousand mountains," and is exactly oppo site to the Bocca Tigris in a direct southerly direction.

† The sails of Chinese vessels are often called Mats, for they are really nothing else than matting,

1809. became exceeding afraid and took them away. The commander directed his fire against the steerage, that they might not be able to steer their vessels. Being very close one to the other, the pirates were exposed to the fire of all the four lines at once. The pirates opened their eyes in astonishment and fell down; our commander advanced courageously, laid hold of their vessels, killed an immense number of men, and took about two hundred prisoners. There was a pirate's wife in one of the boats, holding so fast by the helm that she could scarcely be taken away. Having two cutlasses, she desperately defended herself, and wounded some soldiers; but on being wounded by a musket-ball, she
(11 r.) fell back into the vessel and was taken prisoner.

About this time, when the red squadron was assembled in Kwang chow wan, or the Bay of Kwang chow, Tsuen mow sun went to attack them; but he was not strong enough. The wife of Ching yĭh remained quiet; but she ordered Chang paou to make an attack on the front of our line with ten vessels, and Leang po paou to come from behind. Our commander fought in the van

and in the rear, and made a dreadful slaughter; 1809.
but there came suddenly two other pirates, Hëang shang url, and Suh puh king, who surrounded and attacked our commander on all sides. Our squadron was scattered, thrown into disorder, and consequently cut to pieces; there was a (11v.)
noise which rent the sky; every man fought in his own defence, and scarcely a hundred remained together. The squadron of Ching yĭh overpowered us by numbers; our commander was not able to protect his lines, they were broken, and we lost fourteen vessels.

Our men of war, escorting some merchant vessels, in the fourth moon of the same year, happened to meet the pirate nicknamed *The Jewel of the whole crew*, cruizing at sea near a place called Tang pae keŏ, outside of Tsëaou mun. The traders became exceedingly frightened, but our commander said: "This not being the red flag, we are a match for them, therefore we will attack and conquer them." Then ensued a battle; they attacked each other with guns and stones, and many people were killed and wounded. The fighting ceased

1809. towards the evening, and began again next
(12 r.) morning. The pirates and the men of war were very close to each other, and they boasted mutually about their strength and valour. It was a very hard fight; the sound of cannon and the cries of the combatants were heard some le* distant. The traders remained at some distance; they saw the pirates mixing gunpowder in their beverage,—they looked instantly red about the face and the eyes, and then fought desperately.† This fighting continued three days and nights incessantly; at last becoming tired on both sides, they separated.

On the eighth day of the fifth moon the pirates left their lurking place, attacked Kan chuh han, and burned and plundered the houses. On the tenth they burned and plundered Kew këang,
(12v.) Sha kow, and the whole sea-coast; they then turned about to Këe chow, went on shore, and carried away fifty-three women by force. They

* *Le:* this itinerary measure, as we have remarked, is different in different parts of the empire; it is generally considered that 250 le make a degree of latitude.

† This they did probably to look more ferocious. Plutarch observes of Sylla, that "the ferocity of his aspect was heightened by his complexion, which was a strong *red*, interspersed with spots of white."

went to sea again the following day, burned and 1809.
plundered on their way about one hundred houses
in Sin hwy and Shang sha, and took about a
hundred persons of both sexes prisoners.

On the sixth moon, the admiral Ting kwei
heu went to sea. Wishing to sail eastward, but
falling in with heavy rains for some days, he
stopped near Kwei këa mun,* and engaged in
settling concerning his ballast. On the eighth
day of this moon, Chang paou, availing himself
of the bad weather, explored the station in a
small boat and passed the place. Ting kwei was
right in thinking that the pirates would not un-
dertake any thing during these heavy rains; but
he was careless regarding what might happen
after it. Indeed, as the weather cleared up on
the morning of the ninth, Chang paou appeared
suddenly before the admiral, and formed a line (13 r.)
of two hundred vessels. Ting kwei having no
sails ready, and all the ships being at anchor,
could by no means escape the pirates. The

* *Mun* means an *entrance* or *mouth*; few of these places are to be found, even in the particular maps of the province Kwang tung in the *Tay tsing hwy teen*.

1809. officers, being afraid of the large number of the enemy, stood pale with apprehension near the flagstaff, unwilling to fight. The admiral spoke to them in a very firm manner, and said: "By your fathers and mothers, by your wives and children, do your duty; fight and destroy these robbers. Every man must die: but should we be so happy as to escape, our rewards from government will be immense. Should we fall in the defence of our country, think that the whole force of the empire will be roused, and they will try by all means to destroy these banditti." They now all united together in a furious attack, and sus-
(13v.) tained it for a long time: Ting kwei fired his great guns,* and wounding the ringleader, nicknamed *The Jewel of the whole crew*, he fell down dead.

The pirates were now at a loss how to proceed; but they received succour, while the force

* *Paou*, the first character of 8233, is in our own history always used in the signification of *cannon*. The word meant in former times an engine for throwing stones, and so it is used in the history of the Han dynasty. This gave rise to the opinion that the Chinese had guns and gunpowder long before its discovery in Europe. How could these extraordinary engines have escaped the discriminating genius of Marco Polo, had they existed in China?

of our commander diminished every moment. 1809.
About noon Paou drew nearer to the vessel of Ting kwei, attacked her with small arms, and sustained a great loss. But Leang po paou suddenly boarded the vessel, and the crew was thrown into disorder. Ting kwei seeing that he was unable to withstand, committed suicide; while an immense number of his men perished in the sea, and twenty-five vessels were lost.

Our former deputy-governor Pih ling was about this time removed from his situation in the three *Këang* to become governor-general of the two Kwang.* People said, now that Pih (14 r.)
comes we shall not be overpowered by the pirates. Old men crowded about the gates of the public offices to make enquiries; the government officers appeared frightened and held consultations day and night, and the soldiers were ordered by a public placard to hold themselves ready to march. "Since the death of Wang pëaou," it was said, "all commanders

* The three provinces which have Këang (5500) in their name, the same as the two Kwang, Kwang to the east (tung) and Kwang to the west (se), are usually united under one governor and one deputy governor.

1809. were unfortunate. Last year *Kwŏ lang lin* was killed in the battle at *Ma chow; Tsuen mow sun* was unlucky at *Gaou kow, Url lin* ran away like a coward at *Lang pae,* and now *Ting kwei* has (14v.) again been routed at *Kwei këa.* If the valiant men let their spirits droop, and the soldiers themselves become frightened at these repeated defeats, the pirates will certainly overpower us at last; we can really not look for any assistance to destroy them. We must try to cut off all provisions, and starve them." In consequence of this, all vessels were ordered to remain, or to return into harbour, that the pirates might not have any opportunity to plunder, and thus be destroyed by famine. The government officers being very vigilant about this regulation, the pirates were not able to get provisions for some months; they became at last tired of it, and resolved to go into the river itself.*

The pirates came now into the river by three different passages.† The wife of Ching yĭh plundered about Sin hwy, Chang paou about

* Previously they robbed only in the open sea, outside the Canton river.

† The river discharges itself by many channels into the sea.

Tung kwan,* and O po tae about Fan yu † and Shun tih, and all other smaller places connected with Shun tih; they were together explored by the pirates, who guarded the passage from Fan to Shun. 1809. (15 r.)

On the first day of the seventh moon, O po tae came with about a hundred vessels and burnt the custom-house of Tsze ne. On the second day he divided his squadron into four divisions, extending to Peih këang, Wei yung, Lin yo, Shŷh peih, and other villages. The *Chang lung* division ‡ surrounded the whole country from Ta wang yin to Shwy sse ying. The *Ta chow*, or large-vessel division, blockaded Ke kung shŷh, which is below the custom-house of Tsze ne.

* *Tung kwan hëen* is easterly from Canton 150 le, its area amounts to 180 le, and pays 44,607 leang land-rent, or taxes. There are many small islands belonging to the district of Tung kwan.

† *Fan yu hëen*, near Canton. The place where European ships anchor belongs to this Hëen; its area amounts to 140 le, and pays 48,356 leang. I looked in vain for some notices regarding the many small villages which are to be found in the sequel of the page. Some of them are merely mentioned in the Itinerary of the province Canton. The reader may compare the account of Richard Glasspoole in the Appendix.

‡ These are names of different sorts of Chinese vessels or junks.

1809. The pirates sent to the village Tsze ne, demanding ten thousand pieces of money * as tribute; and of San shen, a small village near Tsze ne on the right side, they demanded two thou-
(15v.) sand. The villagers differed in opinion; one portion would have granted the tribute, another would not. That part who wished to pay the tribute said: "The pirates are very strong; it is better to submit ourselves now, and to give the tribute that we may get rid of them for awhile; we may then with leisure think on means of averting any misfortunes which may befall us. Our villages are near the coast, we shall be surrounded and compelled to do what they like, for no passage is open by which we can retire. How can we, under such circumstances, be confident and rely on our own strength?"

The other part, who would not grant the tribute, said: "The pirates will never be satis-

* In the original Kin (6369). Kin cannot be the common cash (Tung pao). for then the sum would be too trifling—8 to 900 are to be got in Canton for a Spanish dollar. If Kin were used for dollar, or tael, which is very probable, the sum is enormous. Richard Glasspoole states that the pirates demanded indeed ten thousand dollars!—See the Appendix.

fied; if we give them the tribute now, we shall 1809.
not be able to pay it on another day. If they
should make extortions a second time, where
should we get money to comply with their
demands? Why should we not rather spend
the two thousand pieces of money to encourage
government officers and the people? If we (16 r.)
fight and happen to be victorious, our place
will be highly esteemed; but if, what heaven
may prevent, we should be unlucky, we shall
be everywhere highly spoken of." The day
drew to its end, and they could not agree in
what they should determine on, when one villager
arose and said: "The banditti will repeatedly
visit us, and then it will be impossible to pay
the tribute; *we must fight*."

As soon as it was resolved to resist the demands of the pirates, weapons were prepared, and all able men, from sixteen years and upwards to sixty, were summoned to appear with their arms near the palisades. They kept quiet the whole of the second day, and proceeded not to fighting; but the people were much disturbed, and did not sleep the whole night. On the fol-

1809. lowing day they armed and posted themselves
(16v.) on the sea-coast. The pirates, seeing that the villagers would not pay the tribute, became enraged, and made a severe attack during the night; but they could not pass the ditch before the village. On the morning of the fourth, O po tae headed his men, forced the ditch, took the provisions, and killed the cattle. The pirates in great numbers went on shore; but the villagers made such a vigorous resistance that they began to withdraw. O po tae therefore surrounded the village on both sides, and the pirates took possession of the mountain in the rear; they then threw the frightened villagers into disorder, pursued them, and killed about eighty. After this the pirates proceeded with their van to the sea-shore, without encountering any resistance from the front. The villagers were from the beginning very much alarmed for their
(17r.) wives and daughters; they collected them in the temple and shut it up. But the pirates being victorious, opened the temple, and carried the women by force all away on board ship. One pirate set off with two very fine women;

a villager, on seeing this, pursued after and killed him in a hidden place. He then took the women and carried them safe through the water, —this was a servant. A great number of the pirates were killed and wounded, and the villagers lost about two thousand persons. What a cruel misfortune! it is hard indeed only to relate it. 1809.

On the third day of the moon the people of Ta ma chow, hearing that the pirates were coming near, ran away. The pirates plundered all that was left behind, clothes, cattle, and provisions. On the sixth day they came so far as (17v.) Ping chow and San shan. On the eighth they retired to Shaou wan, made an attack upon it on the ninth, but could not take it. On the tenth they ascended the river with the tide, went on shore, and burned Wei shih tun. On the eleventh day they came to our village, but retired again at night on command. On the twelfth they attacked Hwang yung, and left it again on the thirteenth. They retired on the fourteenth, and stopped at Nan pae. On the fifteenth they sailed out of the Bocca Ti-

1809. gris,* and on the twenty-sixth attacked the ships which bring the tribute from Siam,† but were not strong enough to capture them. On the twenty-ninth they attacked the places Tung (18 r.) hwan and Too shin, and killed nearly a thousand men.

The pirates tried many stratagems and frauds to get into the villages. One came as a country gentleman to take charge of the go-

* *Hoo mun.* The following notice on the Chinese tiger is taken from the geography of Mookden, and translated by Father Amiot. Eloge de la ville de Moukden par Kien long, p. 249. "Au-delà de nos frontières (Mookden), il y a une espèce de tigre, dont la peau est un fort beau blanc, sur lequel il y a, par intervalles, des taches noires. Ces espèces de tigres sont plus méchants et plus féroces que les autres." Father Amoit adds, that these tigers are called *Hoo* by the Chinese, and *Tasha* by the Manchow.

† The Chinese geographers and historians are very well acquaited with Siam; there is an interesting description of this empire in the Hae kwo hëen këen, p. 21, and in the 57th book, p. 13, of the memoirs concerning the south of the Mei ling mountains. That Siam acknowledges the supremacy of China, was known to the most early European travellers. Cluver says (in his Introductio in omnem Geographiam Wolfenbuttelæ, 1694, 4to., p. 473), that "Rex Siamensis irruptione crebriori Tartarica pressus, Chano denique Chinensi sese beneficiarium aut vasallum submisit." Mendez Pinto, who was in that country in the year 1540, states that the king of Siam acknowledged the supremacy of China; Bernhardi Vareni Descriptio regni Japoniæ et Siam; Cantabrigiæ 1673-8, p. 128.

vernment guns; another came in a government 1809.
vessel as if to assist the village; after which they on a sudden attacked and plundered all, when people were not aware of them. One pirate went round as a pedlar, to see and hear all, and to explore every place. The country people became therefore at last enraged, and were in future always on their guard. If they found any foreigner, they took him for a pirate and killed him. So came once a government officer on shore to buy rice; but the inhabitants thought he was a pirate and killed him. There was every where a degree of confusion, which it is impossible to explain.

On the sixteenth day of the seventh moon, the pirates attacked a village near Tung kwan. (18v.) The villagers knowing what would happen, made fences and palisades, and obstructed the passage with large guns. Armed with lances and targets they hid themselves in a secret place, and selected ten men only to oppose the pirates. The pirates seeing that there were so few people, went on shore to pursue them. As soon as they came near the ambuscade the guns were

1809. fired; the pirates became alarmed and dared not advance farther. Not being hurt by the fire, they again advanced; but three pirates presuming that there was an ambush, thought of retreating, and being very hard pressed by the enemy, they gave a sign to their comrades to come on shore. The ten villagers then retired near the ambush, and when the pirates pursued them, about a hundred were killed by their guns, and the whole force of the banditti was brought into disorder. The villagers pursued them kill-
(19 r.) ing many; those also who had been taken alive were afterwards beheaded. They captured one small and two large vessels.*

On the eighteenth day of the eighth moon the wife of Ching yih came with about five hundred vessels from Tung kwan and Sin hwy, and caused great commotion in the town Shun

* It is impossible to translate the names of vessels of different descriptions. The large are the Chang lung, or great dragon vessels which by the Chinese law are forbidden to be used by any private person; these are the Mandarin, or government vessels. The pirates nevertheless had such vessels, as likewise the daring smugglers, who bring the opium from Lintin, or Linting, to Canton. The amount of the opium trade in the port of Canton was, in the year 1829-30, equal to 12,057,157 Sp. dollars.

tih, Hëang shan, and the neighbouring places. 1809.
The squadron stopped at Tan chow, and on the twentieth Chang pao was ordered to attack Shaou ting with three hundred vessels. He carried away about four hundred people, both male and female; he came also to the palisades of our village, but could not penetrate inside. The twenty-first he came to Lin tow, and the twenty-second to Kan shin; he made an attack, but could not overpower the place; he then returned to Pwan pëen jow, and lay before its fence. The inhabitants of Chow po chin, (19v.)
knowing that the pirates would make an attack, assembled behind the wall to oppose them. The pirates fired their guns and wounded some, when the villagers ran away. The pirates then went on shore, but the villagers crowded together and fired on them; the pirates cast themselves on the ground, and the shots passed over their heads without doing any harm. Before the gunners could again load, the pirates sprang up and put them to death. Out of the three thousand men who were in the battle, five hundred were carried away by the pirates.

1809. One of the most daring pirates, bearing the flag, was killed by the musket of a villager; a second pirate then took the flag, and he also was killed. The pirates now pressed against the wall and advanced. There was also a fo-
(20 r.) reign pirate* engaged in the battle with a fowling-piece. The pirates assembled in great numbers to cut the wall with their halberts, but they were disappointed on seeing they could not attain their object in such a manner. The pirates lost their hold, fell down, and were killed. The engagement now became general, and great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides. The villagers at last were driven from their fortifications, and the pirates pursued them to *Mih ke*, or *the rocks about Mih*, where they were hindered from going farther by foggy weather; they retired and burned about twenty houses, with all they contained. On the following day the pirates appeared again on the

* One of the English sailors, who had been taken prisoner. "The pirates frequently obliged my men to go on shore and fight with the muskets, which did great execution; the Chinese principally using bows and arrows. They have match-locks, but use them very unskilfully."—See Appendix.

shore, but the inhabitants made a vigorous resis- 1809]
tance, and being driven back, they retired to
the citadel *Chih hwa*, where a thousand of them
fought so hard that the pirates withdrew. It (20 v.)
was reported that ten of them were killed, and
that the villagers lost eight men. On the twenty-
third the wife of Ching yĭh ordered O po tae to
go up the river with about eighty vessels: he
stopped at Show ke and Kung shih. On the
twenty-fourth Chang paou and Po tae divided
this district between themselves, and robbed
and burned all. Pao had to plunder the north
part to Fo shin; he carried away about ten
thousand stones of rice,* and burned down about
thirty houses; on the twenty-fifth he went to Se
shin. O po tae came and burnt San heung keih;
he then plundered Hwang yung, and came to
Këen ke, but did not make an attack against it.
He afterwards returned and laid waste Cha
yung.

* A shih, or stone, contains four keun: a keun thirty kin or catty, the well known Chinese weight: a catty is equal to one pound and a third English.

1809. On the twenty-sixth Chang paou went up the
(21 r.) river to Nan hae* and Lan shÝh. In the harbour of the place were six rice vessels; and as soon as Paou was in Lan shÝh he made preparations to capture these vessels. The military officer, seeing that the pirates were numerous, remained however on his station, for the instant he would have moved, Paou would have attacked and captured him. Paou proceeded then against the village itself; but the officer Ho shaou yuen headed the inhabitants, and made some resistance. The pirates, nevertheless, mounted the banks; and the villagers seeing their strength, did not stay to fight—they became frightened and ran away: all the others ran away without making any resistance: Ho shaou yuen alone opposed the banditti with a handful of people; but he at last fell fighting, and the pirates burnt
(21 v.) four hundred shops and houses, and killed

* *Nan hae hčen.* Its area amounts to 278 le, and it pays 63,731 leang. The European factories in Canton lie in this district, and the monastery opposite to the factories is usually from the name of the district called the *Hae nan sze*, the temple of Hae nan. The district of every place is called by the name of the the place, and we must therefore speak of the town and district Nan hae.

about ten persons. After the pirates had re- 1809.
tired, the inhabitants held in high esteem the excellent behaviour of Ho shaou yuen; they erected him a temple, and the deputy-governor Han fung performed sacrifices to his memory.

Shaou yuen was commanding officer in the citadel of Lan shih; he was of an active spirit, and erected strong fences. Before the pirates arrived, this was his daily discourse when he spoke to the people: "*I know that I shall be glorified this year by my death.*" Half the year being already passed, it could not be seen how this prophecy was to be fulfilled. When the pirates came, he encouraged the citizens to oppose them vigorously; he himself girded on his sword and brandished his spear, and was the most forward in the battle. He killed many persons; but his strength failed him at last, and he was himself killed by the pirates. The villagers were greatly moved by his excellent behaviour; they erected him a temple, and said prayers before his effigy. It was then known what he meant, that "he would be glorified in the course of the year." Now that twenty

1809. years are passed, they even honour him by exhibiting fire-works. I thought it proper to subjoin this remark to my history.*

On the twenty-seventh, Lin sun mustered about forty vessels, and went out to fight with the pirates in order to protect the water passage. He remained at Kin kang (which is near

* This simple note of the Chinese author better illustrates the religion of China than many learned dissertations. All the deities, those of Greece and Rome, of China and India, are derived from two sources; both the powers of nature and highly gifted human beings were deified. These powers of nature, and the virtues and vices of men being in every community nearly similar, the same gods and goddesses are found every where; only their external form and shape is different. Every province, every town, and every village of China has its particular tutulary saint, or god, and on the day of his festival his effigy is carried in public. There is no essential difference in this respect between China and those countries where Roman Catholicism is yet in its highest vigour. The effigies of the Chinese gods and goddesses are all of the human shape; they have no monsters like India and Egypt, under which it was once the fashion to seek for extraordinary wisdom and astonishing science. Lucian has already taken the liberty of laughing at these deities, and at the writers, the prophets, and sophists, who try to find some sense in all this vulgar display of nonsense, by which the people are deluded. Lucian de Sacreficiis s. f. where he laughs at the Jupiter with a ram's head, at the good fellow Mercurius with the countenance of a dog, etc. Κριοπρόσωπον μὲν τὸν Δία, κυνοπρόσωπον δὲ τὸν βίλτιστον Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα ὅλον τραγὸν, etc. See the pleasant story of Jupiter with the ram's head in Herodotus, II. 42.

Shaou wan hae), hid himself westerly of that 1809.
place the whole day, and removed then to Tsze (22 r.)
ne. Chang paou ordered his vessels to remove to Shaou ting, and his men to go on shore in the night-time. Sun, seeing with sorrow that the pirates were so numerous, and that he could not make any effectual resistance, ran away eastwards and hid himself at Peih keang. At daylight the following morning the pirates sailed to Tsze ne to attack our commander, but not finding him, they stopped at Shaou ting; for this being the time when the autumnal winds begin to blow, they were afraid of them, and made preparations to retire. But we shall soon find the different flags returning to the high sea to fight both with extraordinary courage and great ferocity.*

(22 v.)

On the twenty-ninth they returned to plunder Kan shin; they went into the river with small vessels, and the inhabitants opposing them, wounded two pirates, which all the pirates resented. They next came with large vessels, sur-

* The strong winds (Tay fung) in the Chinese sea begin about the middle of September, or just before the equinox.

1809. rounded the village, and made preparations to
(22v.) mount the narrow passes. The inhabitants remained within the intrenchments, and dared not come forward. The pirates then divided their force according to the various passes, and made an attack. The inhabitants prepared themselves to make a strong resistance near the entrance from the sea on the east side of the fence; but the pirates stormed the fence, planted their flag on the shore, and then the whole squadron followed. The inhabitants fought bravely, and made a dreadful slaughter when the pirates crossed the entrance at Lin tow. The boxing-master, Wei tang chow, made a vigorous resistance, and killed about ten pirates. The pirates then began to withdraw, but Chang paou himself headed the battle, which lasted very long. The inhabitants were not strong enough. Wei tang was surrounded by the pirates;
(23r.) nevertheless that his wife fought valiantly by his side. On seeing that they were surrounded and exhausted, the father of the lady* rushed

* It is not stated in the Chinese text, whose father rushed forward, whether it was the father of the lady, or of Wei tang chow.

forward and killed some pirates. The pirates 1809.
then retired in opposite directions, in order to surround their opponents in such a manner that they might not escape, and could be killed without being able to make any resistance; and thus it happened, the wife of Wei tang being slain with the others.

The pirates now pursued the inhabitants of the place, who cut the bridge and retired to the neighbouring hills. The pirates swam through the water and attacked the inhabitants, who were unable to escape. The whole force of the pirates being now on shore, the inhabitants suffered a severe loss,—it is supposed about a hundred of them were killed; the loss of the pirates also was considerable. (23v.)

The pirates went in four divisions to plunder; they took here an immense quantity of clothes and other goods, and carried away one thousand one hundred and forty captives of both sexes. They set on fire about ten houses; the flames could not be extinguished for some days; in the whole village you could not hear

1809. the cry of a dog or a hen. The other inhabitants retired far from the village, or hid themselves in the fields. In the paddy fields about a hundred women were hidden, but the pirates on hearing a child crying, went to the place and carried them away. *Mei ying*, the wife of Ke choo yang, was very beautiful, and a (24 r.) pirate being about to seize her by the head, she abused him exceedingly. The pirate bound her to the yard-arm; but on abusing him yet more, the pirate dragged her down and broke two of her teeth, which filled her mouth and jaws with blood. The pirate sprang up again to bind her. Ying allowed him to approach, but as soon as he came near her, she laid hold of his garments with her bleeding mouth, and threw both him and herself into the river, where they were drowned. The remaining captives of both sexes were after some months liberated, on having paid a ransom of fifteen thousand leang or ounces of silver.

Travelling once to Pwan pëen jow I was affected by the virtuous behaviour of *Mei ying*, and all generous men will, as I suppose, be

moved by the same feelings. I therefore com- 1809.
posed a song, mourning her fate:

Chén ké kīn seāou hëĕ,
Chúy szē chūng soó mëèn.
Tāng shē shwŭy fàn leĭh,
Yēw nèu tŭh nāng tsŭy;
Tsëĕn hēuĕ yīng kwáng nëĕ,*
Yuēn keŭ yuēn shwŭy weī.
Shwŭy hwăn pō shàng heà,
Yīng lëĕ sháng pèi hwŭy.

Cease fighting now for awhile!
Let us call back the flowing waves!
Who opposed the enemy in time?
A single wife could overpower him. (24 v.)
Streaming with blood, she grasped the mad offspring of guilt,
She held fast the man and threw him into the meandering stream.
The spirit of the water, wandering up and down on the waves,
Was astonished at the virtue of *Ying*.
My song is at an end!
Waves meet each other continually.

* I must again remark that there is a false character in our text: it should be Nëĕ, 7974 in the Tonical Dictionary of Dr. M.

1809. I see the water green as mountain Peih,
But the brilliant fire returns no more !*
How long did we mourn and cry !†

* I am compelled to give a free translation of this verse, and confess myself not quite certain of the signification of the poetical figures used by our author. *Fūng* signifies a hollow pyramid filled with combustibles; *yēn* signifies the smoke caused by combustion; *tseāng* signifies the spar or yard in a boat or ship, to which the sail is attached, and *ying* is shadow. It seems that the author alludes to the spar or yard-arm, at which *Mei ying* was fastened by the pirate; but what he means by *shadow* I do not really know, perhaps *ying* is in the place of *Mei ying*.

† The Chinese characters are printed like the other portion of the work. I have divided them according to the verses. Only the first eight lines have a regular metre of five feet, or words, and as the author himself says, his song is then at an end; but the language still remains poetical, and for that reason it was thought proper to divide also the remaining lines like verses. Every word must be considered as consisting of one syllable or sound, even if we write it with three or four vowels. Poetry is perhaps more esteemed in China, than in any other country in the world. The late governor-general of Kwang tung and Kwang se, his Excellency Yuen, published the poems of his daughter, who died when only nineteen years of age. Most of the emperors of China wrote verses, and I have, if I remember rightly, an imperial collection printed at the command of Kēa king of many volumes, containing the poetry of the crowned heads of China. The reader may easily imagine that the Chinese have many works on poetry; I am also in possession of a Chinese *Gradus ad Parnassum* in ten large volumes, in which are to be found, divided under different heads, all the fine expression and poetical images of the classical poets. Mr. Davis has given some excellent specimens of Chinese poetry in his elegant dissertation on that subject.

BOOK SECOND.

On the thirteenth day of the ninth moon our 1809.
Admiral Tsuen mow sun mustered about eighty (1 r.)
vessels to go to Shaou wan, and obstruct the passage. The pirates heard of these preparations, and on the night of the fourteenth every vessel of the different flags was ordered to go to Shaou wan. Their order was, that being within ten le from the place, they should stop and prepare themselves to begin the battle when it was dark. From the first night watch the cannon began to fire, and only ceased with (1 v.)
daylight. At the end of the day the cannon were again roaring without any intermission, and the country people mounted on the green Lo shang, to look at the progress of the fight. They saw the wrecks of vessels floating on the sea, the waves were rolling, the bullets flying,

1809. and the cries of dying people mounted to the skies. The vallies re-echoed the noise; beasts and birds* started alarmed, and found no place where they might repose themselves. The vessels were thrown into disorder, and our army was pressed down by the overpowering force of the enemy. Our commander lost four vessels, but the palisade before the village could not be taken, by which means it was protected against pillage. Our admiral said, " Since I cannot conquer these wicked pirates, I will blow myself up." In this manner the (2 r.) admiral and many other officers met their death.

On the twenty-fifth the pirates went to Hëang shan and to great Hwang po;† they took pos-

* Verbally " monkeys and birds," a sort of birds which according to Dr. Morrison are something similar to our crows.

† In the memoirs concerning the south of the Meiling mountains, three books (from 9—11 incl.) are filled up with a description of the seas, rivers, and lakes, of the province of Canton. Book ninth begins with a general description of the Chinese seas, and of the different entrances from the sea-side; then follows a particular description of the sea near Canton and Hainan, and of the different Tides at various places. The mariner would certainly be gratified by a translation of this part of the work. The translator has often remarked the extraordinary phenomenon of the fiery appearance of the sea, during his residence in China.

session of the inside and the outside passage of 1809.
Hwang po, so that the boat-people,* who stay

In the before-mentioned work, b. ix. p. 5 v, we read the following notice concerning this phenomenon:

" *The fire in the sea:* It happens sometimes that sea waves have such a luminous appearance, as if the whole sea were full of fire. If you cast any thing into the sea, it becomes luminous like a star; but you do not see this during moonlight. Wood having in itself no fire, receives a fiery appearance, after having been passed through the water."

In b. x. p. 10 r. Whampo is said to be seventy le from the sea custom-house of Canton. In this extract foreigners are in general very unfavourably spoken of. Amongst other things we are told, " that foreigners or barbarians drink so much strong liquor that they are not able to stand on their feet; they fall down intoxicated, and before having had a sound sleep, they cannot rise again." It is also remarked in the same article that many people assemble together at Whampo, to attend the trade with the foreigners; the reason probably why our author calls it " the Great." The reader will remember what has been said on Hëang shan in a former note; I will only here add the remark of Martini, " that in his time the principal and most wealthy merchants lived in that place." (Thevenot Rélations de divers voyages, iii. 167.)

* It is well known that a great part of the population of China live on the water, and they are generally called *Tan* (9832) people;—a word which in the Canton dialect is pronounced *Tanka*. They are quite a separate race, and harshly dealt with by the Chinese government. There exist particular works concerning the history, the customs and laws of these boat-people. They more than once opposed the despotic regulation of their masters, and government was always afraid they might join the pirates. The history of the southern barbarians in the often

1809. outside on the coast, retired and came up to the town with their boats. The military officer Ting gaou ho being made acquainted with the arrival of the pirates, requested ten fishing boats from the town Hëang shan to assist the citizens and to help them in opposing the enemy. He posted himself before the town to protect it. Ting gaou behaved valiantly on the river; he headed his small fleet of fishing boats and opposed the pirates. There was incessant
(2 v.) fighting day and night; but at last the numerous vessels of the pirates surrounded him on all sides, and Ting gaou ho received a severe wound in the back. He then addressed his comrades in the following words: "Being on

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quoted *Memoirs*, &c. begins with a description of the *Tan jin*, or *Tanka* people, and it is there said that they are divided into three different classes. The description of their customs and manners is very interesting, and I hope soon to lay it before the English reader. It has been supposed that the name *Tanka people* is derived from the form of their boats, which is similar to an *egg*; but *Shwŏ wăn*, as quoted in Kang he, explains the word only by *Nan fang e yay*, Barbarians of the southern region. There exist different forms of this character, but I think we should not presume to make an etymology of a Chinese character without being authorized by the Shwŏ wăn, the oldest and most genuine source of Chinese lexicography.

the military station before this town, it was my 1802.
intention to destroy the pirates, and for this reason I united with all the principal men to oppose them, without considering my own safety;—joyful I went to oppose the enemy. But not being able to destroy this immense number of banditti, I am now surrounded with all my principal men; and being deficient in power, I will die. Death could not move me, but I fear the cruel behaviour of the banditti; I fear that if the battle come to its highest summit, our fathers and mothers, our wives and sons, will be taken captives. United with the principal men of the town, we cannot destroy the pirates, neither protect the country, our (3 r.)
families, nor our own firesides,—but the circumstances being desperate, we must do our utmost.*

They now again rushed against the pirates and killed many of them; but their strength

* In the Chinese text is *King king* (the character is composed out of radical *fire* and *ear*), on which is to be found an interesting critical observation in Kang he, s. v. b. viii. p. 119r. In no other oriental language has there been so much done by the natives for the foreign student as by the Chinese.

1809. being exhausted, the ten fishing boats were taken, and great Hwang po given up to be plundered. The citizens retired to their intrenchments, and made such vigorous resistance that the pirates could not make them captives. Chang paou therefore ordered O po tae and Leang po paou to make an attack on both sides, on the front and the rear at once; so the citizens sustained a great defeat, and about a hundred of them were killed. A placard was then posted up in the town, admonishing the citizens that they being unable to resist the enemy, must, under these cruel circumstances, send messengers to make terms with the pirates. This (3 v.) being done, the pirates withdrew.

The wife of Ching yih then ordered the pirates to go up the river; she herself remaining with the larger vessels in the sea to blockade the different harbours or entrances from the seaside; but the government officers made preparations to oppose her. There were about this time three foreign vessels returning to Portugal.*

* The most common denomination for Portugal is now Se yang kwŏ, or more correctly *Siao se yang kwŏ*. "The small

Yih's wife attacked them, took one vessel, and killed about ten of the foreigners; the two other vessels escaped. The Major Pang noo of Hëang shan about this time fitted out a hundred vessels to attack the pirates; he had before hired six foreign vessels, and the two Portuguese ships, which had before run away, united also with him. Yih's wife, seeing that she had not vessels enough, and that she might be surrounded, ordered a greater number to her assistance. (4 r.) She appointed Chang paou to command them, and sail up the river; but to keep quiet with his squadron till he saw the Chang lung, or government vessels come on. On the third of the tenth moon the government vessels went higher up the river, and Chang paou following and attacking them, the foreign vessels sustained a great loss, and all the other vessels 1809.

realm in the western ocean; Europe is called *Tă se yang*. (See Preface.) I thought it here more proper to translate *E* by *foreigner*, than by *barbarian*. In a Chinese history of Macao, we find various particulars regarding the Portuguese. The description of the Portuguese clergy and the Roman Catholic religion is the most interesting part of this curious publication. It consists of two parts, or volumes.

1809. then ran away. The foreigners showed themselves very courageous; they petitioned the mayor of Hëang shan to place himself at the head of the foreign vessels, to go and fight the pirates. Pang noo having for some time considered their request, inspected on the tenth of the same month the six foreign vessels, their arms and provisions, and went out into the sea
(4v.) to pursue the pirates.

About this time Chang paou had collected his force at Ta yu shan near Chih leih keŏ, and the foreign vessels went thither to attack him. About the same time the admiral, Tsuen mow sun, collected a hundred vessels, and joined the foreigners to attack the pirates. On the thirteenth they spread out their lines, and fought during two days and two nights, without either party proving victorious. On the fifteenth one of the officers went forward with some large vessels to attack the pirates, but he was very much hurt by the fire of the guns; his vessel was lost, and about ten men were killed and many others wounded,—after this, the whole fleet retired. They however again commenced

fighting on the sixteenth, but being unable to withstand the pirates, one vessel more was lost.* 1809.

The Admiral Tsuen mow sun was exceedingly eager to destroy the pirates, but he was confident that he was not strong enough to vanquish them, and he spoke thus to his people: (5 r.)

"The pirates are too powerful, we cannot master them by our arms; the pirates are many, we only few; the pirates have large vessels, we only small ones; the pirates are united under one head, but we are divided,—and we alone are unable to engage with this overpowering force. We must therefore now make an attack, when they cannot avail themselves of their number, and contrive something besides physical strength, for by this alone it is impossible for us to be victorious. The pirates are now all assembled in Ta yu shan, a place which is surrounded by water. Relying on their strength, and thinking (5 v.)

* It would be interesting to read the Portuguese version of these skirmishes. A history of these skirmishes was printed at Lisbon, but I could not procure this publication. The reader may compare the statements of Richard Glasspoole in the Appendix.

1809. that they will be able to vanquish us, they will certainly not leave this place of retirement. We should therefore from the provincial city (Canton) assemble arms and soldiers as many as we can, surround the place, and send fire-vessels among their fleet. It is probable that in such a manner we may be able to measure our strength with them."

In consequence of this determination all commanders and officers of the different vessels were ordered to meet on the seventeenth at Chih leih keŏ, to blockade the pirates in Ta yu shan, and to cut off all supplies of provisions that might be sent to them. To annoy them yet more, the officers were ordered to prepare the materials for the fire-vessels. These fire-vessels were filled with gunpowder, nitre, and other combustibles; after being filled, they were set on
(6 r.) fire by a match from the stern, and were instantly all in a blaze. The Major of Hëang shan, Pang noo, asked permission to bring soldiers with him, in order that they might go on shore and make an attack under the sound of martial music, during the time the mariners made their pre-

paration. On the twentieth it began to blow very 1809.
fresh from the north, and the commander ordered
twenty fire-vessels to be sent off, when they took,
driven by the wind, an easterly direction; but
the pirate's entrenchments being protected by a
mountain, the wind ceased, and they could not
move farther on in that direction; they turned
about and set on fire two men of war. The
pirates knowing our design were well prepared
for it; they had bars with very long pincers, by
which they took hold of the fire-vessels and kept
them off, so that they could not come near.
Our commander, however, would not leave the
place; and being very eager to fight, he ordered (6 v.)
that an attack should be made, and it is pre-
sumed that about three hundred pirates were
killed. Pao now began to be afraid, and asked
the *Spirit of the three Po*, or old mothers, to give
a prognostic. The *Pŭh*, or lot for fighting, was
disastrous; the *Pŭh*, or lot to remain in the
easterly entrenchment, was to be happy. The
Pŭh, or lot for knowing if he might force the
blockade or not on leaving his station to-mor-

1809. row, was also happy,* three times one after another.

There arose with the day-light on the twenty-second a light southerly breeze; all the squadrons began to move, and the pirates prepared themselves joyfully to leave their station. About noon † there was a strong southerly wind, and a very rough sea on. As soon as it became dark the pirates made sail, with a good deal of noise, and broke through the blockade,

* The Chinese are very much accustomed to consult the Pŭh, or sort. There exists various ways, according to the ideas of the Chinese, of asking the divinity whether any undertaking shall prove either fortunate or not. The translator has seen different modes of casting lots in the temples of the suburbs of Canton. The reader may find an interesting description of casting lots in the "Histoire du grand Royaume de la Chine;" à Rouen 1614-8, p. 30. There is much useful information to be found in this work; but it would be curious to learn in what Armenian works ("escritures des Armeniens") it is stated, that "St. Thomas came through China in his voyage to the East-Indies" (l. c. p. 25)!

† *Woo* (11753) *how; Woo* is the time between eleven and one o'clock of the day. The Chinese divide the day into twelve *she shin*, or great hours; the European twenty-four hours of the day are called *seaou she shin*, little hours. We learn by a passage of Herodotus (Euterpe 109), that the Greeks in his time also divided the day into twelve parts; Herodotus also adds that the Greeks received this division of time from the Babylonians.—See Visdelou in the Supplement to the "Bibliothèque Orientale," by Herbelot, under the word *Fenek*.

favoured by the southerly wind. About a hun- 1809.
dred vessels were upset, when the pirates left
Ta yu shan. But our commander being un-
aware that the pirates would leave their en-
trenchments, was not prepared to withstand
them. The foreign vessels fired their guns and (7 r.)
surrounded about ten leaky vessels, but could
not hurt the pirates themselves; the pirates left
the leaky vessels behind and ran away. After
this they assembled outside at Hung chow in
the ocean.

Notwithstanding that the pirates had broken
through the blockade, Tsuen mow sun desisted
not from pursuing them; he followed the pirates
into the open sea in order to attack them. On
the fifth of the eleventh moon he met the pirates
near Nan gaou, and prepared his vessels* to
attack them. The pirates spread out all their
vessels one by one, so that the line of their fleet
reached the forces of our commander; they then
tried to form a circle and surround our admiral.
Our commander, in order to prevent this, divided
his force,—he separated from him eighty vessels, (7 v.)

* *Me teng* is a particular sort of junk.

1809. which had orders to join him afterwards. Before they united again, a great battle took place between the two fleets; the firing lasted from three till five in the afternoon; our crew fought exceedingly hard and burnt three pirate-vessels. The pirates retreated, and our navy declined pursuing them, because it would carry them too far out of the way. Our crew being still elated at this transaction, the pirates on a sudden returned, roused them out of their sleep and constrained them to fight a second time. The commander had no time to make preparations, so that two vessels were burnt by the fire of the pirates, and three were captured.

(8 r.) At the time when Chang paou was blockaded in Chih leih keŏ, and was afraid that he should not be able to come out again, he sent to O po tae, who was at Wei chow, to rescue him. His message was in the following words:—"I am harassed by the government's officers outside in the sea; lips and teeth must help one another, if the lips are cut away the teeth will feel cold. How shall I alone be able to fight the government forces? You should therefore come at the head

of your crew, to attack the government squadron 1809.
in the rear, I will then come out of my station
and make an attack in front; the enemy being
so taken in the front and rear, will, even sup-
posing we cannot master him, certainly be
thrown into disorder."

Ever since the time Paou was made chieftain
there had been altercations between him and O
po tae. Had it not have been out of respect for
the wife of Ching yïh they would perhaps have (8 v.)
made war against each other. Till now they
only showed their mutual dislike in their plun-
dering expeditions on the ocean, and in conse-
quence of this jealousy Po tae did not fulfil the
orders of Paou. Paou and his whole crew felt
very much annoyed at this conduct, and having
been able to break through the blockade, he
resolved to measure his strength with Tae. He
met him at Neaou chow, and asked him: "Why
did you not come to my assistance?"

O po tae answered: "You must first consider
your strength and then act; you must consider
the business and then go to work. How could
I and my crew have been sufficient against the

1809. forces of the admiral. I learnt your request, but men being dependent upon circumstances, I could not fulfil it; I learnt your request, but I was dependent on circumstances, and men
(9 r.) cannot act otherwise.* And now concerning this business—to give or not give assistance—am I bound to come and join your forces?"

Paou became enraged and said: "How is this, will you then separate from us?"

Tae answered: "I will not separate myself."

Paou: "Why then do you not obey the orders of the wife of Ching yïh and my own? What is this else than separation, that you do not come to assist me, when I am surrounded by the enemy? I have sworn it that I will destroy thee, wicked man, that I may do away with this soreness on my back."

There passed many other angry words between them, till they at length prepared to fight and destroy each other. Chang paou was the first to begin the battle; but having fired his

† These speeches seem to be rhetorical exercises of the Chinese historian; the antithesis is a figure very much used in Chinese rhetoric and poetry, and a great part of their poetry consists merely of such antitheses.

guns, and being deficient in strength, Tae went 1809.
against him with all his well prepared forces.
Paou was not able to make any effectual resistance to his enemy; he received a severe defeat,
he lost sixteen vessels, and three hundred men (9 v.)
were taken prisoners. The prisoners were all killed from mutual hatred.

O po tae remained then at the head of his forces without any opposition, since Paou withdrew. There was now a meeting held under these banditti; when Chang jih kao arose and said:

"If Paou and we should again measure our strength against each other, our force will not be found sufficient; we are only one to ten. It is to be feared that they will collect all their forces together to exterminate us. They may on a sudden come against us and make an attack,—our small body must certainly be in fear of their vast number. There is *Leang po paou*, an experienced pirate on the sea; if he should on a sudden turn his vessels against us, there is not one among us who would be able to resist him. He is a very zealous worshipper of the spirit of

1809. the three Po or Mothers, and protected by them; nay, and protected by them in a super-
(10 r.) natural manner. But if we perform sacrifices, they remain without shadow and echo.* And then it may also be added that we are no more able to withstand with our short arms their long ones, than dogs are able to chase fierce tigers. But do we not every where see government placards inviting us to submit, why do we not then send somebody to make the offer? The government will pardon and not destroy us sea-monsters,† and we may then reform our previous conduct. Why should we not therefore come to a determination to that effect?"

Fung yung fa said: "How then if government should not trust our word?"

Chang jih kao answered: "If government should learn that we recently fought Chang
(10 v.) paou, and destroyed the banditti,—it would

* That is—they are of no effect at all. I, however, thought it proper to retain the strong figure of the original.

† The author forgets in his rhetorical flourishes, that it is a pirate himself who speaks to pirates. The Chinese characters for "sea monster" are to be found in M 2057; "*King e* is used figuratively for a devouring conqueror of men," says Dr. Morrison.

be hard indeed if that were not enough to make 1809.
them trust us?"

Go tsew he said: "If government should not act towards us, as it is stated in the placard, after having made our submission, we may then again use violence. But they will hear, that we attacked the others, like fishes their food; that we alone made a beginning in destroying the pirates, and then tendered our submission,—they will feel that they can employ us to destroy the other pirates. He who is not of the same opinion as mine may let his hand hang down."

O po tae was of the same opinion, and the purser was ordered to frame the offer of submission to government. The petition concerning the offer was couched in the following terms:

"It is my humble opinion that all robbers of an overpowering force, whether they had their origin from this or any other cause, have felt the (11 r.)
humanity of government at different times. Leang shan who three times plundered the city, was nevertheless pardoned and at last made a minister of state.* Wa kang often challenged

* The author has here the expression *tung-leang* (11399) *pillar*, in its proper and figurative sense. He probably chose this ex-

1809. the arms of his country and was suffered to live, and at last made a corner-stone of the empire. Joo ming pardoned seven times Mang hwŏ; and Kwan kung three times set Tsaou tsaou at liberty.* Ma yuen pursued not the exhausted robbers; and Yŏ fei killed not those who made their submission. There are many other instances of such transactions both in former and recent times, by which the country was strengthened and government increased its power. We (11 v.) now live in a very populous age; some of us could not agree with their relations, and were driven out like noxious weeds. Some after having tried all they could, without being able to provide for themselves, at last joined bad society. Some lost their property by shipwrecks; some

pression to make, according to Chinese sentiments, a fine rhetorical phrase. *Leang* in the beginning of the phrase corresponds to the sound and the form of the character to *Leang* at the end: Leang shan san kĕĕ ching yĭh, mung găn shay url king tsŏ tung-leang. There is also something like a quibble in the second phrase; Wa kang, *Bricks and mountain ridge* is transformed into Choo shĭh (1223) or a *corner-stone*, just as Leang-shan, *mountain bridge* is into tung-leang, or a *pillar*.

* O po tae alludes to well known events in Chinese history. On Tsaou tsaou see Dr. Morrison, 10549 in the tonical part of the Dictionary.

withdrew into this watery empire to escape from 1809.
punishment. In such a way those, who in the beginning were only three or five, were in the course of time increased to a thousand or ten thousand, and so it went on increasing every year. Would it not have been wonderful if such a multitude, being in want of their daily bread, should not have resorted to plunder and robbery to gain their subsistence, since they could not in any other manner be saved from famine? It was from necessity that the laws of the empire were violated, and the merchants robbed of their goods. Being deprived of our land and of our native places, having no house or home to resort to, and relying only on the (12 r.)
chances of wind and water, even could we for a moment forget our griefs, we might fall in with a man-of-war, who with stones, darts and guns, would blow out our brains." "Even if we dared to sail up a stream and boldly go on with anxiety of mind under wind, rain, and stormy weather, we must every where prepare for fighting. Whether we went to the east, or to the west, and after having felt all the hardships

1809. of the sea, the night dew was our only dwelling, and the rude wind our meal. But now we will avoid these perils, leave our connexions, and desert our comrades; we will make our submission. The power of government knows no bounds; it reaches to the islands in the sea, and every man is afraid and sighs. Oh we must be destroyed by our crimes, none can escape who opposeth the laws of government.
(12v.) May you then feel compassion for those who are deserving of death; may you sustain us by your humanity!"

The chief officers of government met joyfully together at Canton. The governor-general of the southern district ever loved the people like himself; and to show his benevolence he often invited them by public placards to make submission:—he really felt compassion for these lower sort of men, who were polluted with crimes. The way of compassion and benevolence is the way of heaven, which is pleased with virtue; it is the right way to govern by righteousness. Can the bird remain quiet with strong wings, or will the fish not move in deep water? Every person

acts from natural endowments, and our general 1809.
would have felt compassion even for the meanest creature on earth, if they would have asked for pardon. He therefore redeemed these pirates from destruction, and pardoned their former crimes.*

After this period the country began to assume a new appearance. People sold their arms and (13 r.)
bought oxen to plough their fields; they burned sacrifices, said prayers on the top of the hills, and rejoiced themselves by singing behind screens during day-time. There were some people who endeavoured to act with duplicity, and wished to murder the pirates, but the general on seeing the petition said to his assistants: "I will pull down the vanguard of the enemy to use it for the destruction of the remaining part. I may then employ it against the over-spreading power of the pirates; with the pirates I will destroy the pirates. Yŏ fu mow destroyed in this manner

* I confess that it was not an easy matter to translate these rhetorical exercises and poetical phrases, by which the author is evidently anxious to draw a veil over the weakness of the empire. The Chinese scholar will certainly pardon any mistake which might occur in this poetical or furious prose—to use the expression of Blair in his *Lectures on Rhetoric*.

1809. Yang tay: let us not act with duplicity, that we may the better disperse their comrades and break their power; let us therefore accept their submission."

In the agreement it was stipulated that the ships should assemble together in the open sea near Kwei shen hëen* to make their surrender. The Governor-general was to come to that place (13v.) to receive O po tae, his vessels, his men, and all other things which were pointed out in the petition. The Governor-general being exceedingly pleased, ordered his adjutant Kung gaou to examine the list. He found eight thousand men, one hundred and twenty-six vessels, five hundred large guns, and five thousand six hundred various military weapons. The towns Yang keang and Sin gan were appointed for this people to live in.†—This happened in the

* *Kwei shen* is a Hëen or town of the third rank, and dependent on the district metropolis Hwy chow foo; it is near to Hwy. Its area amounts to thirty-seven le, and pays in taxes 26,058 leang. It is stated in the *Itinerary of Canton* (Kwang tung tsuen too, p. 5. v.) that the situation of this great town makes it a place of danger; being close to the sea, Kwei shen is exposed to sudden attacks from pirates.

† *Yang keang* is a town of the third rank, and dependent on

twelfth month of the fourteenth year of Këa king—and so the black squadron was brought into subjection. O po tae changed his name to *Heŏ bëen*, "The lustre of instruction," and the general made him a Pa tsung* to reward his services in defeating Chang paou. Jan. 1810.

On the twelfth moon Chang paou went with his different squadrons into the river and attacked Ke chow. It was near the end of the year, and the pirates assembled along the mountain (14 r.)

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its district metropolis Chow king foo; distant from Chow king foo in a southerly direction 340 le. Its area amounts to twenty-nine le, and it pays 12,499 leang in taxes.

Sin gan is a town of the third rank, and dependent upon Kwang chow foo; distance from Canton in a north-east direction 200 le. Its area amounts to fifty le, and pays in taxes 11,623 leang. There are three towns in the district of Canton, whose names begin with *Sin*, new; *Sin hwy*, *The New Association*; *Sin ning*, *The New Repose*; and *Sin gan*, *The New Rest*. Kwang tung tsuen too p. 3 v. 4 v et r. 8 r, *Ning* (8026) is now always written without *sin* or heart, being the *ming* or proper name of the reigning emperor. By a mistake it is stated in the Indo-Chinese Gleaner (iii. 108.), that *Ning* was the proper name of Këa king. The proper name of the reigning emperor is considered sacred, and must be spelled differently during his life-time.

* A Pa tsung, a kind of inferior military officer, says Dr. Morrison, under the word pa, (8103.)

1810. ridge Laou ya* to make a festival: they made a great noise during the night with crackers, and their gongs were heard at a great distance.† At daybreak the flags were spread out, and the drums sounded; they were cheerful the whole day; they eat and drank and made a great noise, which was heard many les off.

On the second day of the same month they attacked the village, and on the third day about ten men went on shore. The villagers made their escape, so that the pirates could not take them. Having some time before made preparations to fortify Ma king yun,‡ they now retired to it. The pirates knowing that the villagers were well provided for defence, waited until (14v.) they had every thing ready. On the fourth the pirates landed; it was in vain that the villagers opposed them, they had two men

* *Laou ya, Laou ya kang*, the mountain ridge of Laou ya, is fifteen le from the town of the third rank called *Shīh ching*. Shih ching hëen belongs to the district Kaou chow foo. Kwang tung tsuen too, 16v. 9r.

† Crackers made of gunpowder, and the gong, are used at every Chinese festival.

‡ The name of a temple which Europeans commonly call a Pagoda.

wounded, and were finally defeated. The Go- 1810.
vernor-general ordered Ching chuy loo to proceed at the head of a large body of soldiers to the town Shun tih, and prepare for an attack. Meeting the pirates at Ke chow, the Major attacking them on a sudden, the pirates sustained a great loss, and returned to their vessels. The Major also was struck by a shot from a musket. There were daily skirmishes at the neighbouring places; the inhabitants were generally defeated and ran away. The Major Loo came with his forces and placed them on the sea-coast behind the intrenchments of Sin ne, to protect them against the fire of the enemy. The guns of the pirates were directed against the place, the bullets fell in Sin ne, but without hurting any one, which again calmed and encouraged the inhabitants. The pirates (15 r.)
coming a second time before Ke chow and Ta leang, and not being able to accomplish their designs, thought fit to retire.

The wife of Ching yĭh, on seeing that O po tae was made a government officer after his submission, and that he did well, thought also of making

1810. her submission. "I am," said she, "ten times stronger than O po tae, and government would perhaps, if I submit, act towards me as they did with O po tae." But remembering their former crimes, and the opposition they made to many officers, these pirates were apprehensive and felt undetermined in their resolutions. A rumour (15 v.) went about, that the red squadron wished to tender their submission, and, in consequence, the vigilant magistrates hearing of this, invited them to do so. The magistrate of Tsze ne, Yu che chang, ordered a certain Fei hëung chow to make enquiries about the matter. Fei hëung chow was a physician of Macao, and being well acquainted with the pirates, he was not in need of any introduction to obtain access to them. This was the ground on which Yu chi chang particularly selected him, when he tried to bring the pirates to submission.

When Fei hëung chow came to Paou, he said: "Friend Paou, do you know why I come to you?"

Paou.—"Thou hast committed some crime and comest to me for protection?"

Chow.—"By no means."

Paou.—" You will then know, how it stands 1810.
concerning the report about our submission, if it
is true or false?"

Chow.—" You are again wrong here, Sir.*
What are you in comparison with O po tae?"

Paou.—" Who is bold enough to compare me (16 r)
with O po tae?"

Chow.—" I know very well that O po tae
could not come up to you, Sir; but I mean only,
that since O po tae has made his submission,
since he has got his pardon and been created a
government officer,—how would it be, if you
with your whole crew should also submit, and if
his Excellency should desire to treat you in the
same manner, and to give you the same rank as
O po tae? Your submission would produce
more joy to government than the submission of
O po tae. You should not wait for wisdom to
act wisely; you should make up your mind to
submit to the government with all your followers.

* Keun in Chinese, Kwa according to the Canton pronunciation. It is true it is somewhat awkward to speak of Madam Ching and Mr. Paou, but it may be remarked that the Chinese use their familiar expressions *foo* or *keun* in the same manner as we use Mr. and Mrs.

1810. I will assist you in every respect,—it would be the means of securing your own happiness and the lives of all your adherents."

Chang paou remained like a statue without motion, and Fei hëung chow went on to say:

(16 v.) "You should think about this affair in time, and not stay till the last moment. Is it not clear that O po tae, since you could not agree together, has joined government. He being enraged against you, will fight, united with the forces of the government, for your destruction; and who could help you, so that you might overcome your enemies? If O po tae could before vanquish you quite alone, how much more can he now when he is united with government? O po tae will then satisfy his hatred against you, and you yourself will soon be taken either at Wei chow or at Neaou chow. If the merchant-vessels of Hwy chaou, the boats of Kwang chow, and all the fishing-vessels unite

(17 r.) together to surround and attack you in the open sea, you will certainly have enough to do. But even supposing they should not attack you, you will soon feel the want of provisions, to sustain

you and all your followers. It is always wisdom 1810.
to provide before things happen; stupidity and folly never think about future events. It is too late to reflect upon events when things have happene; you should, therefore, consider this matter in time!"

Paou held a deliberation with the wife of Ching yĭh, and she said: "The Doctor Chow is certainly right in all that he says; Paou may agree with him." Paou then asked the Doctor: "Have you any commission about this matter, or not?" The Doctor answered, "How could I trifle with the sentiments of government; this would be declared an improper behaviour. (17 v.) Neither can I see through the intentions of the wife of Ching yĭh nor through those of the officers of government; you can clear up all doubts, if you will collect your vessels about Shao këŏ, outside the Bocca Tigris, you may yourself hear the orders."

Paou consented to this proposal, and the Doctor returned to Yu che chang. Yu che chang acquainted the Governor-general with this matter. The general was anxious to meet the pirates and

1810. to clear the western passage, as he had already cleared the eastern passage; he therefore was very happy at hearing the offer of surrender. The magistrate of Tsze ne, Yu che chang, took the government proclamation and went to the pirates to see how things stood. The wife of Ching yïh on seeing Yu che chang, ordered Chang paou to prepare a banquet. Chang paou explained his intentions. Yu che chang remained the whole night on board ship, and stated that government was willing to pardon
(18 r.) them, and that they had nothing to fear after having made their submission. Paou was very much rejoiced at this; and on the next morning he went with Yu che chang to inspect the vessels, and ordered all the captains to pay their respects to the government officer. The wife of Ching yïh stated to Yu che chang that it was her earnest wish to submit to government; and Chang paou himself assured the officer of his firm intention to surrender without the least deceit. The governor then ordered Yu che chang to visit the pirates a second time, accompanied by Pang noo, in order to settle all with them regarding

their submission. Chang paou requested that 1810.
those pirates who had been condemned to death
should be placed in ten vessels, in order that he
might ransom them. Yu che chang reported
this, and the Governor said: "It shall be so,
whether Chang paou submit himself or not.
But being exceedingly desirous that the pirates
may surrender, I will go myself and state my
intentions, to clear up all doubts."

He ordered the Doctor Fei hëung chow to ac-
quaint the pirates with his design. The Gover- (18 v.)
nor-general then embarked in a vessel with
Pang noo and Yu che chang to meet the pirates,
where they were assembled;—their vessels oc-
cupied a space of about ten le. On hearing
that the Governor-general was coming, they
hoisted their flags, played on their instruments,
and fired their guns, so that the smoke rose in
clouds, and then went to meet him. From the
other side the people all became alarmed, and
the Governor-general himself was very much
astonished, being yet uncertain what could be the
meaning of all this alarm. Chang paou, accom-
panied by the wife of Ching yïh, by Pang chang

1810. ching, Leang po paou, and Soo puh gaou, mounted the governor's ship, and rushed through the smoke to the place where the governor was stationed. The Governor-general on seeing Paou and his followers falling on their hands and knees, that
(19 r.) they shed tears on account of their former crimes, and sued penitently for their lives, was induced by his extreme kindness to declare that he would again point out to the rebels the road to virtue. Paou and his followers were extremely affected, knocked their heads on the ground, and swore that they were ready to suffer death. But the Governor replied: "Since you are ready to submit yourselves with a true heart, I will lay aside all arms and disperse the soldiery; to say it in one word, I give you three days to make up a list of your vessels and all your other possessions. Are you satisfied with this proposal or not?" Paou and his followers said "*yes, yes,*" and retired accordingly.

It happened that about the same time some Portuguese vessels were about to enter the Bocca Tigris, and that some large men-of-war took their station at the same place. The pirates

became exceedingly alarmed at this fleet, and 1810.
apprehended that the Governor had made an
agreement with the foreign vessels to destroy
them. They immediately weighed their anchors
and steered away. On seeing the pirates run- (19 v.)
ning away, Pang noo, Yu che chang, and the
others, not knowing what could be the reason of
all this, became afraid that they might have
changed their mind, and that an attack on the
Governor was contemplated. All parties became
frightened that the meeting had failed, and made
preparations to go off. The inhabitants of the
neighbouring country hearing of this, ran away,
and the Governor-general himself went back to
Canton.

When the pirates ascertained that the foreign
vessels were traders going into the river, and
that the Governor-general had no communication
with them, they again became pacified. But
considering that the Governor-general went back
to Canton without the business of their sub-
mission being quite settled, they held a consul-
tation together and Paou said: "His Excellency
is gone back, and probably in doubt about our

1810. intentions; if we tender our submission again,
(20 r.) his Excellency will not trust us, and if we do not submit we shall insult the good intentions of government. What is to be done under these circumstances?"

The wife of Ching yïh said: "His Excellency behaved himself towards us in a candid manner, and in like manner we must behave towards him. We being driven about on the ocean, without having any fixed habitation;—pray let us go to Canton to inform government, to state the reason of the recoiling waves, to clear up all doubts, and to agree on what day or in what place we shall make our submission. His Excellency may then explain to us whether he will come a second time to accept our submission, or whether he will decline it."

The whole crew was of opinion, that "the designs of government were unfathomable, and that it would not be prudent to go so hastily on." But the wife of Ching yïh replied: "If his
(20 v.) Excellency, a man of the highest rank, could come quickly to us quite alone, why should I a mean woman not go to the officers of govern-

ment? If there be any danger in it, I will take 1810.
it on myself, no person among you will be required to trouble himself about it."

Leang po paou said: "If the wife of Ching yïh goes, we must fix a time when she shall return. If this time be past without our obtaining any certain information, we should collect all our forces and go before Canton.* This is my opinion; if you think otherwise, let us retire; but let me hear your opinion?" They all answered: "Friend Paou, we have heard thy opinion, but we think it rather better to wait for the news here on the water, than to send the wife of Ching yïh alone to be killed." This was the result of the consultation.

Yu che chang and Fei hëung chow, on seeing (21 r.)
that nothing was settled about the submission to government, became alarmed, and sent Chao kaou yuen to Chang paou to enquire what was the reason of it. On learning that they ran away from fear of the foreign vessels, Yu che chang and Fei hëung chow made another visit to the pirates, in order to correct this mistake.

* In the text is only Chow (1355); but I think it must here be taken for the city or town of Canton.

1810. " If you let slip this opportunity," said they, " you will not be accepted, perhaps, should you even be willing to make your submission. The kindness of his Excellency is immense like the sea, without being mixed with any falsehood; we will pledge ourselves that the wife of Ching yïh, if she would go, would be received with kindness."

The wife of Ching yïh said: " You speak well, gentlemen; I will go myself to Canton with some other ladies, accompanied by Yu che chang."

Chang paou said, laughingly: "I am sorry his
(21 v.) Excellency should have any doubt regarding us, for this reason, therefore, we will send our wives to settle the affair for us."

When the wives and children appeared before him, the Governor-general said to them: " You did not change your mind, but ran away, being deceived by a false impression; for this reason I will take no notice of it. I am commanded by the humanity of his Majesty's government not to kill but to pardon you; I therefore now pardon Chang paou."

In consequence of this, Chang paou came with 1810.
his wives and children, and with the wife of Ching yïh, at Foo yung shao near the town of Hëang shan to submit himself to government. Every vessel was provided with pork and wine, and every man received at the same time a bill for a certain quantity of money. Those who wished it, could join the military force of government for pursuing the remaining pirates; and those who objected, dispersed and withdrew into the country. This is the manner by which the red squadron of the pirates was pacified.

After the submission of Chang paou, the Go- (22 r.)
vernor-general said: "Now that we have cleared, both the eastern and the middle passage, we are ready to reduce the pirates of the western passage. He held a consultation about this matter with the deputy-governor Han fung, and then ordered the principal officer of the public granary, Mwan ching che, and the military commandant of Luy chow foo, Kang chow foo, and Këung chow foo, called Chuh url kang gïh,* to

* About the towns which are mentioned in our text, the reader may compare the notes to the first book. It is quite impos-

1810. proceed at the head of the forces and drive the pirates away. It was presumed that they would retire more westerly to Annam; a message was therefore sent to the king of that country to have ready an armed force to repulse the pirates, whenever they should appear on the rivers or on the mainland.* Chang paou was ordered on the vanguard.

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sible to ascertain by the text alone if there was only one military officer appointed for all these places or not. In the latter case it would be necessary to read Chuh url and Kang gĭh; but we see by p. 95 that Chuh url kang gĭh is the name of *one* commander.

* Tung king and Cochin-China now form one empire, under the name of Annam or Annan. The king of this country acknowledges the supremacy of the Chinese emperor, and sends every year a tribute to Pekin. The time of the reign of every king is known by an honorary title, like that of the emperors of China. The honorary title of the period of the reigning king, to whom the message was sent, was *Kea lung* (good fortune), the younger brother of *King ching*, called by his proper name *Fŭh ying* (according to the Chinese Mandarin pronunciation): he is often mentioned in the beginning of the first book of our *History of the Pirates*. The king, commonly called Kea lung, died Feb. 1820, in the 19th year of his reign. His son, who still reigns, mounted the throne on the third day after his father's death, assuming the words *Ming ming* (Illustrious fortune), as the designation of his reign. See the "Indo-Chinese Gleaner," vol. i. p. 360. It was falsely reported that Ming ming was murdered some days after his succession to the throne (Indo-Chinese Gleaner, l. c. p. 416), and this report is stated as a fact in the generally very accurate work, Hamilton's East-India Gazetteer,

By the tenth day of the fourth moon the 1810.
vessels and the crew were quite ready, and fell in on the twelfth of the same month with the yellow flag quite alone at Tse sing yang. Our commander valiantly attacked this squadron, and defeated it entirely. The captain Le tsung (22v.)
chaou, with three hundred and ninety of his people, were taken prisoners. Meeting a division of the green flag, consisting of ten pirate vessels, our commander attacked them. The pirates being afraid, ran away; but our commander pursued after and killed them. Those who were taken alive were beheaded.

On the tenth day of the fifth moon the Governor-general went to Kaou chow to make preparations for fighting. Our commander pursued after the pirates with a great and strong body of troops; he met Neaou shïh url at Tan chow, and they fought a great battle. Neaou shïh url saw that he was not strong enough to withstand

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vol. i. p. 430. The reader may find some interesting particulars concerning the present state of Cochin-China, in the Canton Register 1829, No. 13. Chinese influence seems to be now predominating in that country.

1810. them, and tried to escape; but the Major, Fei teaou hwang,* gave orders to surround the pi-
(23 r.) rates. They fought from seven o'clock in the morning till one at noon, burnt ten vessels, and killed an immense number of the pirates. Neaou shŸh url was so weakened that he could scarcely make any opposition. On perceiving this through the smoke, Chang paou mounted on a sudden the vessel of the pirate, and cried out: "I Chang paou am come," and at the same moment he cut some pirates to pieces; the remainder were then hardly dealt with. Paou addressed himself in an angry tone to Neaou shŸh url, and said: "I advise you to submit, will you not follow my advice, what have you to say?" Neaou shŸh url was struck with amazement, and his courage left him. Leang po paou advanced and bound him, and the whole crew were then taken captives.

Seeing that Neaou shŸh url was taken, his elder brother Yew kwei would have run away in all haste; but the admirals Tung and Tsuen
(23 v.) mow sun pursued, attacked, and took him

* *Teaou* (10044) in our text is written with a vulgar character.

prisoner. The government officers Kung gao 1810.
and Hoo tso chaou took the younger brother of Neaou shŷh url, called Mih yew keih, and all the others then made their submission. Not long after this the *Scourge of the eastern ocean* surrendered voluntarily, on finding himself unable to withstand; the *Frog's meal* withdrew to Luzon or Manilla. On the twentieth of the same month, the Governor-general came to Luy chow, and every officer was ordered to bring his prizes into the harbour or bay of Man ke. There were taken fighting five hundred pirates, men and women; three thousand four hundred and sixty made their submission; there were eighty-six vessels, two hundred and ninety-one guns, and one thousand three hundred and seventy-two pieces of various military weapons. The Governor-general ordered one of his officers to kill* the pirate Neaou shŷh url with eight others outside the northern entrance of Hae kăng hëen,† and to behead Hwang hŏ (24 r.)

* Chih (Kang he under radical 112. B. vii. p. 19 r.) seems to indicate that they have been put to death by cutting one member after another.

† Hae kăng is a town of the third rank and dependent on the

1810. with one hundred and nineteen of his followers. The *Scourge of the eastern sea* submitting himself voluntarily was not put to death.

There was much talk concerning a man at Hae kăng hëen, whose crime was of such a nature that it could not be overlooked. When this man was carried away to suffer death, his wife pressed him in her arms, and said with great demonstration of sorrow, " Because thou didst not follow my words, it is even thus. I said before what is now come to pass, that thou fighting as a pirate against the officers of government would be taken and put to death. This fills my mind with sorrow. If thou hadst made thy submission like O po tae and Chang paou, thou (24 v.) wouldst have been pardoned like them; thou art now given up to the law, not by any power of man, but by the will of fate." Having finished these words, she cried exceedingly. The Governor-general was moved by these

district metropolis Luy chow foo. Luy chow foo is westerly from Canton 1380 le. Hae kang is near to its district metropolis *Kwang tung tsuen too*, p. v. 9 v. See the Notes, p 9, of this work.

words, and commuted the punishment of that 1810.
pirate into imprisonment.

In this manner the western passage was cleared from the green, yellow, and blue squadrons, and smaller divisions. The rest of the pirates, who remained about Hae kăng, at Hae fung, at Suy kĕ and Hŏ poo, were gradually destroyed.* The Governor-general ordered Chuh url kang gĭh and Mwan ching che to go with an armed force and sweep away those pirates, who hid themselves in the recesses of Wei chow and Neaou chow. And thus finished this meritorious act of the *Pacification of the pirates.*

By an edict of the "Son of Heaven," the (25 r.)
Governor-general of Kwang tung and Kwang se

* *Hae fung* is a town of the third rank, and dependent on the district metropolis Hwy chow foo. It is in a north-east direction from its district metropolis 300 le. Its area contains forty le, and pays 17,266 leang in taxes.

Suy ke is a town of the third rank, and dependent upon the district metropolis Luy chow foo; distance from Luy chow foo in a northerly direction 180 le.

Hŏ poo is a town of the third rank, and dependant on the district metropolis Lëen chow foo. This town is near to the district metropolis, has an area of thirty le, and pays 7,458 leang in taxes. *Kwang tung tsuen too*, p. 6 r. p. 9 v.

1810. *Pih, ling* was recompensed for his merits. He was created a secondary guardian of the Prince, allowed to wear peacock's-feathers with two eyes, and favoured with an hereditary title. The services of the different officers and commanders were taken into consideration, and they received adequate recompenses. Chang paou was appointed to the rank of Major; Tung hae pa, or, the Scourge of the eastern sea, and all others, were pardoned, with the permission to retire wherever they wished. From that period till now ships pass and repass in tranquillity. All is quiet on the rivers, the four seas are tranquil, and people live in peace and plenty.

APPENDIX.

THE Translator supposing that the readers of the *History of the Chinese Pirates* might perhaps find it interesting to compare the account of the followers of *The wife of Ching yih*, drawn up by an European, with the statements of the non-official Chinese historian; he has therefore thought fit to subjoin a *Narrative of the captivity and treatment amongst the Ladrones*, written by Mr. Richard Glasspoole, of the Hon. Company's ship *Marquis of Ely*, and published in *Wilkinson's Travels to China*. The Translator in vain endeavoured to obtain another Narrative, regarding the Chinese pirates, which is said to be printed in an English periodical.

A brief Narrative of my captivity and treatment amongst the Ladrones.

On the 17th of September 1809, the Honourable Company's ship Marquis of Ely anchored under the Island of *Sam Chow*, in China, about twelve English miles from Macao, where I was ordered to proceed in

one of our cutters to procure a pilot, and also to land the purser with the packet. I left the ship at 5 P.M. with seven men under my command, well armed. It blew a fresh gale from the N. E. We arrived at Macao at 9 P.M., where I delivered the packet to Mr. Roberts, and sent the men with the boat's-sails to sleep under the Company's Factory, and left the boat in charge of one of the Compradore's men; during the night the gale increased.—At half-past three in the morning I went to the beach, and found the boat on shore half-filled with water, in consequence of the man having left her. I called the people, and baled her out; found she was considerably damaged, and very leaky. At half-past 5 A.M., the ebb-tide making, we left Macao with vegetables for the ship.

One of the Compradore's men who spoke English went with us for the purpose of piloting the ship to *Lintin*, as the Mandarines, in consequence of a late disturbance at Macao, would not grant chops for the regular pilots. I had every reason to expect the ship in the roads, as she was preparing to get under weigh when we left her; but on our rounding Cabaretta-Point, we saw her five or six miles to leeward, under weigh, standing on the starboard-tack: it was then blowing fresh at N. E. Bore up, and stood towards her; when about a cable's-length to windward of her, she tacked; we hauled our wind and stood after her.

A hard squall then coming on, with a strong tide and heavy swell against us, we drifted fast to leeward, and the weather being hazy, we soon lost sight of the ship. Struck our masts, and endeavoured to pull; finding our efforts useless, set a reefed foresail and mizen, and stood towards a country-ship at anchor under the land to leeward of Cabaretta-Point. When within a quarter of a mile of her she weighed and made sail, leaving us in a very critical situation, having no anchor, and drifting bodily on the rocks to leeward. Struck the masts: after four or five hours hard pulling, succeeded in clearing them.

At this time not a ship in sight; the weather clearing up, we saw a ship to leeward, hull down, shipped our masts, and made sail towards her; she proved to be the Honourable Company's ship Glatton. We made signals to her with our handkerchiefs at the mast-head, she unfortunately took no notice of them, but tacked and stood from us. Our situation was now truly distressing, night closing fast, with a threatening appearance, blowing fresh, with hard rain and a heavy sea; our boat very leaky, without a compass, anchor or provisions, and drifting fast on a lee-shore, surrounded with dangerous rocks, and inhabited by the most barbarous pirates. I close-reefed my sails, and kept tack and tack 'till day-light, when we were happy to find we had drifted very little to leeward of our situation in

the evening. The night was very dark, with constant hard squalls and heavy rain.

Tuesday the 19th no ships in sight. About ten o'clock in the morning it fell calm, with very hard rain and a heavy swell;—struck our masts and pulled, not being able to see the land, steered by the swell. When the weather broke up, found we had drifted several miles to leeward. During the calm a fresh breeze springing up, made sail, and endeavoured to reach the weather-shore, and anchor with six muskets we had lashed together for that purpose. Finding the boat made no way against the swell and tide, bore up for a bay to leeward, and anchored about one A.M. close under the land in five or six fathoms water, blowing fresh, with hard rain.

Wednesday the 20th at day-light, supposing the flood-tide making, weighed and stood over to the weather-land, but found we were drifting fast to leeward. About ten o'clock perceived two Chinese boats steering for us. Bore up, and stood towards them, and made signals to induce them to come within hail; on nearing them, they bore up, and passed to leeward of the islands. The Chinese we had in the boat advised me to follow them, and he would take us to Macao by the leeward passage. I expressed my fears of being taken by the Ladrones. Our ammunition being wet, and the muskets rendered useless, we had nothing to defend

ourselves with but cutlasses, and in too distressed a situation to make much resistance with them, having been constantly wet, and eat nothing but a few green oranges for three days.

As our present situation was a hopeless one, and the man assured me there was no fear of encountering any Ladrones, I complied with his request, and stood in to leeward of the islands, where we found the water much smoother, and apparently a direct passage to Macao. We continued pulling and sailing all day. At six o'clock in the evening I discovered three large boats at anchor in a bay to leeward. On seeing us they weighed and made sail towards us. The Chinese said they were Ladrones, and that if they captured us they would most certainly put us all to death! Finding they gained fast on us, struck the masts, and pulled head to wind for five or six hours. The tide turning against us, anchored close under the land to avoid being seen. Soon after we saw the boats pass us to leeward.

Thursday the 21st, at day-light, the flood making, weighed and pulled along shore in great spirits, expecting to be at Macao in two or three hours, as by the Chinese account it was not above six or seven miles distant. After pulling a mile or two perceived several people on shore, standing close to the beach; they were armed with pikes and lances. I ordered the interpreter to hail them, and ask the most direct passage to Macao.

They said if we came on shore they would inform us; not liking their hostile appearance I did not think proper to comply with the request. Saw a large fleet of boats at anchor close under the opposite shore. Our interpreter said they were fishing-boats, and that by going there we should not only get provisions, but a pilot also to take us to Macao.

I bore up, and on nearing them perceived there were some large vessels, very full of men, and mounted with several guns. I hesitated to approach nearer; but the Chinese assuring me they were Mandarine junks* and salt-boats, we stood close to one of them, and asked the way to Macao? They gave no answer, but made some signs to us to go in shore. We passed on, and a large row-boat pulled after us; she soon came along-side, when about twenty savage-looking villains, who were stowed at the bottom of the boat, leaped on board us. They were armed with a short sword in each hand, one of which they laid on our necks, and the other pointed to our breasts, keeping their eyes fixed on their officer, waiting his signal to cut or desist. Seeing we were incapable of making any resistance, he sheathed his sword, and the others immediately followed his example. They then dragged us into their boat, and carried us on board one of their junks, with the most savage demonstrations of joy, and as we supposed,

* *Junk* is the Canton pronunciation of *chuen*, ship.

to torture and put us to a cruel death. When on board the junk, they searched all our pockets, took the handkerchiefs from our necks, and brought heavy chains to chain us to the guns.

At this time a boat came, and took me, with one of my men and the interpreter, on board the chief's vessel. I was then taken before the chief. He was seated on deck, in a large chair, dressed in purple silk, with a black turban on. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, a stout commanding-looking man. He took me by the coat, and drew me close to him; then questioned the interpreter very strictly, asking who we were, and what was our business in that part of the country. I told him to say we were Englishmen in distress, having been four days at sea without provisions. This he would not credit, but said we were bad men, and that he would put us all to death; and then ordered some men to put the interpreter to the torture until he confessed the truth.

Upon this occasion, a Ladrone, who had been once to England and spoke a few words of English, came to the chief, and told him we were really Englishmen, and that we had plenty of money, adding, that the buttons on my coat were gold. The chief then ordered us some coarse brown rice, of which we made a tolerable meal, having eat nothing for nearly four days, except a few green oranges. During our repast, a number of La-

drones crowded round us, examining our clothes and hair, and giving us every possible annoyance. Several of them brought swords, and laid them on our necks, making signs that they would soon take us on shore, and cut us in pieces, which I am sorry to say was the fate of some hundreds during my captivity.

I was now summoned before the chief, who had been conversing with the interpreter; he said I must write to my captain, and tell him, if he did not send an hundred thousand dollars for our ransom, in ten days he would put us all to death. In vain did I assure him it was useless writing unless he would agree to take a much smaller sum; saying we were all poor men, and the most we could possibly raise would not exceed two thousand dollars. Finding that he was much exasperated at my expostulations, I embraced the offer of writing to inform my commander of our unfortunate situation, though there appeared not the least probability of relieving us. They said the letter should be conveyed to Macao in a fishing-boat, which would bring an answer in the morning. A small boat accordingly came alongside, and took the letter.

About six o'clock in the evening they gave us some rice and a little salt fish, which we eat, and they made signs for us to lay down on the deck to sleep; but such numbers of Ladrones were constantly coming from different vessels to see us, and examine our clothes and

hair, they would not allow us a moment's quiet. They were particularly anxious for the buttons of my coat, which were new, and as they supposed gold. I took it off, and laid it on the deck to avoid being disturbed by them; it was taken away in the night, and I saw it on the next day stripped of its buttons.

About nine o'clock a boat came and hailed the chief's vessel; he immediately hoisted his mainsail, and the fleet weighed apparently in great confusion. They worked to windward all night and part of the next day, and anchored about one o'clock in a bay under the island of Lantow, where the head admiral of Ladrones was lying at anchor, with about two hundred vessels and a Portuguese brig they had captured a few days before, and murdered the captain and part of the crew.

Saturday the 23d, early in the morning, a fishing-boat came to the fleet to inquire if they had captured an European boat; being answered in the affirmative, they came to the vessel I was in. One of them spoke a few words of English, and told me he had a Ladrone-pass, and was sent by Captain Kay in search of us; I was rather surprised to find he had no letter. He appeared to be well acquainted with the chief, and remained in his cabin smoking opium, and playing cards all the day.*

* The pirates had many other intimate acquaintances on shore, like Doctor *Chow* of Macao.

In the evening I was summoned with the interpreter before the chief. He questioned us in a much milder tone, saying, he now believed we were Englishmen, a people he wished to be friendly with; and that if our captain would lend him seventy thousand dollars 'till he returned from his cruize up the river, he would repay him, and send us all to Macao. I assured him it was useless writing on those terms, and unless our ransom was speedily settled, the English fleet would sail, and render our enlargement altogether ineffectual. He remained determined, and said if it were not sent, he would keep us, and make us fight, or put us to death. I accordingly wrote, and gave my letter to the man belonging to the boat before-mentioned. He said he could not return with an answer in less than five days.

The chief now gave me the letter I wrote when first taken. I have never been able to ascertain his reasons for detaining it, but suppose he dare not negotiate for our ransom without orders from the head admiral, who I understood was sorry at our being captured. He said the English ships would join the mandarines and attack them.* He told the chief that captured us, to dispose of us as he pleased.

* The pirates were always afraid of this. We find the following statement concerning the Chinese pirates, taken from the records in the East-India House, and printed in Appendix C. to the *Report relative to the trade with the East-Indies*

Monday the 24th, it blew a strong gale, with constant hard rain; we suffered much from the cold and wet, being obliged to remain on deck with no covering but an old mat, which was frequently taken from us in the night, by the Ladrones who were on watch. During the night the Portuguese who were left in the brig murdered the Ladrones that were on board of her, cut the cables, and fortunately escaped through the darkness of the night. I have since been informed they run her on shore near Macao.

Tuesday the 25th, at day-light in the morning, the fleet, amounting to about five hundred sail of different sizes, weighed, to proceed on their intended cruize up the rivers, to levy contributions on the towns and villages. It is impossible to describe what were my feelings

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and China, in the sessions 1820 and 1821 (reprinted 1829), p 387.

"In the year 1808, 1809, and 1810, the Canton river was so infested with pirates, who were also in such force, that the Chinese government made an attempt to subdue them, but failed. The pirates totally destroyed the Chinese force; ravaged the river in every direction; threatened to attack the city of Canton, and destroyed many towns and villages on the banks of the river; and killed or carried off, to serve as Ladrones, several thousands of inhabitants.

"These events created an alarm extremely prejudicial to the commerce of Canton, and compelled the Company's supercargoes to fit out a small country ship to cruize for a short time against the pirates."

at this critical time, having received no answers to my letters, and the fleet under-way to sail,—hundreds of miles up a country never visited by Europeans, there to remain probably for many months, which would render all opportunities of negotiating for our enlargement totally ineffectual; as the only method of communication is by boats, that have a pass from the Ladrones, and they dare not venture above twenty miles from Macao, being obliged to come and go in the night, to avoid the Mandarines; and if these boats should be detected in having any intercourse with the Ladrones, they are immediately put to death, and all their relations, though they had not joined in the crime,* share in the punishment, in order that not a single person of their families should be left to imitate their crimes or revenge their death. This severity renders communication both dangerous and expensive; no boat would venture out for less than a hundred Spanish dollars.

Wednesday the 26th, at day-light, we passed in sight of our ships at anchor under the island of Chun Po. The chief then called me, pointed to the ships, and told the interpreter to tell us to look at them, for we should never see them again. About noon we entered a river

* That the whole family must suffer for the crime of one individual, seems to be the most cruel and foolish law of the whole Chinese criminal code.

to the westward of the Bogue,* three or four miles from the entrance. We passed a large town situated on the side of a beautiful hill, which is tributary to the Ladrones; the inhabitants saluted them with songs as they passed.

The fleet now divided into two squadrons (the red and the black)† and sailed up different branches of the river. At midnight the division we were in anchored close to an immense hill, on the top of which a number of fires were burning, which at day-light I perceived proceeded from a Chinese camp At the back of the hill was a most beautiful town, surrounded by water, and embellished with groves of orange-trees. The chop-house (custom-house)‡ and a few cottages were immediately plundered, and burnt down; most of the inhabitants, however, escaped to the camp.

The Ladrones now prepared to attack the town with a formidable force, collected in row-boats from the dif-

* The Hoo mun, or Bocca Tigris.

† We know by the "History of the Chinese Pirates," that these "wasps of the ocean," to speak with *Yuen tsze yung lun*, were originally divided into six squadrons.

‡ In the barbarous Chinese-English spoken at Canton, all things are indiscriminately called *chop*. You hear of a chop-house, chop-boat, tea-chop, Chaou-chaou-chop, etc. To give a bill or agreement on making a bargain is in Chinese called *chă tan;* chă in the pronunciation of Canton is *chop*, which is then applied to any writing whatever. See Dr. Morrison's English and Chinese Dictionary under the word *chop*.

ferent vessels. They sent a messenger to the town, demanding a tribute of ten thousand dollars annually, saying, if these terms were not complied with, they would land, destroy the town, and murder all the inhabitants; which they would certainly have done, had the town laid in a more advantageous situation for their purpose; but being placed out of the reach of their shot, they allowed them to come to terms. The inhabitants agreed to pay six thousand dollars, which they were to collect by the time of our return down the river. This finesse had the desired effect, for during our absence they mounted a few guns on a hill, which commanded the passage, and gave us in lieu of the dollars a warm salute on our return.

October the 1st, the fleet weighed in the night, dropped by the tide up the river, and anchored very quietly before a town surrounded by a thick wood. Early in the morning the Ladrones assembled in row-boats, and landed; then gave a shout, and rushed into the town, sword in hand. The inhabitants fled to the adjacent hills, in numbers apparently superior to the Ladrones. We may easily imagine to ourselves the horror with which these miserable people must be seized, on being obliged to leave their homes, and every thing dear to them. It was a most melancholy sight to see women in tears, clasping their infants in their arms, and imploring mercy for them from those brutal

robbers! The old and the sick, who were unable to fly, or to make resistance, were either made prisoners or most inhumanly butchered! The boats continued passing and repassing from the junks to the shore, in quick succession, laden with booty, and the men besmeared with blood! Two hundred and fifty women, and several children, were made prisoners, and sent on board different vessels. They were unable to escape with the men, owing to that abominable practice of cramping their feet: several of them were not able to move without assistance, in fact, they might all be said to totter, rather than walk. Twenty of these poor women were sent on board the vessel I was in; they were hauled on board by the hair, and treated in a most savage manner.

When the chief came on board, he questioned them respecting the circumstances of their friends, and demanded ransoms accordingly, from six thousand to six hundred dollars each. He ordered them a berth on deck, at the after-part of the vessel, where they had nothing to shelter them from the weather, which at this time was very variable,—the days excessively hot, and the nights cold, with heavy rains. The town being plundered of every thing valuable, it was set on fire, and reduced to ashes by the morning. The fleet remained here three days, negotiating for the ransom of the prisoners, and plundering the fish-tanks and

gardens. During all this time, the Chinese never ventured from the hills, though there were frequently not more than a hundred Ladrones on shore at a time, and I am sure the people on the hills exceeded ten times that number.*

October the 5th, the fleet proceeded up another branch of the river, stopping at several small villages to receive tribute, which was generally paid in dollars, sugar and rice, with a few large pigs roasted whole, as presents for their joss (the idol they worship).* Every person on being ransomed, is obliged to present him with a pig, or some fowls, which the priest offers him with prayers; it remains before him a few hours, and is then divided amongst the crew. Nothing particular occurred 'till the 10th, except frequent skirmishes on shore between small parties of Ladrones and Chinese soldiers. They frequently obliged my men to go on shore, and fight with the muskets we had when taken, which did great execution, the Chinese principally using bows and arrows. They have match-locks, but use them very unskilfully.

* The following is the *Character of the Chinese of Canton, as given in ancient Chinese books:* "People of Canton are silly, light, weak in body, and weak in mind, without any ability to fight on land." The Indo-Chinese Gleaner, No. 19.

† *Joss* is a Chinese corruption of the Portuguese *Dios, God.* The Joss, or idol, of which Mr. Glasspoole speaks in the *San po shin*, which is spoken of in the work of Yuen tsze.

On the 10th, we formed a junction with the Black-squadron, and proceeded many miles up a wide and beautiful river, passing several ruins of villages that had been destroyed by the Black-squadron. On the 17th, the fleet anchored abreast four mud batteries, which defended a town, so entirely surrounded with wood that it was impossible to form any idea of its size. The weather was very hazy, with hard squalls of rain. The Ladrones remained perfectly quiet for two days. On the third day the forts commenced a brisk fire for several hours: the Ladrones did not return a single shot, but weighed in the night and dropped down the river.

The reasons they gave for not attacking the town, or returning the fire, were, that Joss had not promised them success. They are very superstitious, and consult their idol on all occasions. If his omens are good, they will undertake the most daring enterprizes.

The fleet now anchored opposite the ruins of the town where the women had been made prisoners. Here we remained five or six days, during which time about an hundred of the women were ransomed; the remainder were offered for sale amongst the Ladrones, for forty dollars each. The woman is considered the lawful wife of the purchaser, who would be put to death if he discarded her. Several of them leaped over-board

and drowned themselves, rather than submit to such infamous degradation.*

The fleet then weighed and made sail down the river, to receive the ransom from the town before-mentioned. As we passed the hill, they fired several shot at us, but without effect. The Ladrones were much exasperated, and determined to revenge themselves; they dropped out of reach of their shot, and anchored. Every junk sent about a hundred men each on shore, to cut paddy, and destroy their orange-groves, which was most effectually performed for several miles down the river. During our stay here, they received information of nine boats lying up a creek, laden with paddy; boats were immediately dispatched after them.

Next morning these boats were brought to the fleet; ten or twelve men were taken in them. As these had made no resistance, the chief said he would allow them to become Ladrones, if they agreed to take the usual oaths before Joss. Three or four of them refused to comply, for which they were punished in the following cruel manner: their hands were tied behind their back, a rope from the mast-head rove through their arms, and hoisted three or four feet from the deck, and five or six men flogged them with three rattans twisted together 'till they were apparently dead; then hoisted

* Yuen tsze reported the memorable deed of the beautiful *Mei yuy* at the end of the first book of his history.

them up to the mast-head, and left them hanging nearly an hour, then lowered them down, and repeated the punishment, 'till they died or complied with the oath.

October the 20th, in the night, an express-boat came with the information that a large mandarine fleet was proceeding up the river to attack us. The chief immediately weighed, with fifty of the largest vessels, and sailed down the river to meet them. About one in the morning they commenced a heavy fire till day-light, when an express was sent for the remainder of the fleet to join them: about an hour after a counter-order to anchor came, the mandarine-fleet having run. Two or three hours afterwards the chief returned with three captured vessels in tow, having sunk two, and eighty-three sail made their escape. The admiral of the mandarines blew his vessel up, by throwing a lighted match into the magazine as the Ladrones were boarding her; she ran on shore, and they succeeded in getting twenty of her guns.

In this action very few prisoners were taken: the men belonging to the captured vessels drowned themselves, as they were sure of suffering a lingering and cruel death if taken after making resistance. The admiral left the fleet in charge of his brother, the second in command, and proceeded with his own vessel towards Lantow. The fleet remained in this river, cutting paddy, and getting the necessary supplies.

On the 28th of October, I received a letter from Captain Kay, brought by a fisherman, who had told him he would get us all back for three thousand dollars. He advised me to offer three thousand, and if not accepted, extend it to four; but not farther, as it was bad policy to offer much at first: at the same time assuring me we should be liberated, let the ransom be what it would. I offered the chief the three thousand, which he disdainfully refused, saying he was not to be played with; and unless they sent ten thousand dollars, and two large guns, with several casks of gunpowder, he would soon put us all to death. I wrote to Captain Kay, and informed him of the chief's determination, requesting if an opportunity offered, to send us a shift of clothes, for which it may be easily imagined we were much distressed, having been seven weeks without a shift; although constantly exposed to the weather, and of course frequently wet.

On the first of November, the fleet sailed up a narrow river, and anchored at night within two miles of a town called Little Whampoa. In front of it was a small fort, and several mandarine vessels lying in the harbour. The chief sent the interpreter to me, saying, I must order my men to make cartridges and clean their muskets, ready to go on shore in the morning. I assured the interpreter I should give the men no such orders, that they must please themselves. Soon after

the chief came on board, threatening to put us all to a cruel death if we refused to obey his orders. For my own part I remained determined, and advised the men not to comply, as I thought by making ourselves useful we should be accounted too valuable.

A few hours afterwards he sent to me again, saying, that if myself and the quarter-master would assist them at the great guns, that if also the rest of the men went on shore and succeeded in taking the place, he would then take the money offered for our ransom, and give them twenty dollars for every Chinaman's head they cut off. To these proposals we cheerfully acceded, in hopes of facilitating our deliverance.

Early in the morning the forces intended for landing were assembled in row-boats, amounting in the whole to three or four thousand men. The largest vessels weighed, and hauled in shore, to cover the landing of the forces, and attack the fort and mandarine-vessels. About nine o'clock the action commenced, and continued with great spirit for nearly an hour, when the walls of the fort gave way, and the men retreated in the greatest confusion.

The mandarine vessels still continued firing, having blocked up the entrance of the harbour to prevent the Ladrone boats entering. At this the Ladrones were much exasperated, and about three hundred of them swam on shore, with a short sword lashed close under

each arm; they then ran along the banks of the river 'till they came a-breast of the vessels, and then swam off again and boarded them. The Chinese thus attacked, leaped over-board, and endeavoured to reach the opposite shore; the Ladrones followed, and cut the greater number of them to pieces in the water. They next towed the vessels out of the harbour, and attacked the town with increased fury. The inhabitants fought about a quarter of an hour, and then retreated to an adjacent hill, from which they were soon driven with great slaughter.

After this the Ladrones returned, and plundered the town, every boat leaving it when laden. The Chinese on the hills perceiving most of the boats were off, rallied, and retook the town, after killing near two hundred Ladrones. One of my men was unfortunately lost in this dreadful massacre! The Ladrones landed a second time, drove the Chinese out of the town, then reduced it to ashes, and put all their prisoners to death, without regarding either age or sex!

I must not omit to mention a most horrid (though ludicrous) circumstance which happened at this place. The Ladrones were paid by their chief ten dollars for every Chinaman's head they produced. One of my men turning the corner of a street was met by a Ladrone running furiously after a Chinese; he had a drawn sword in his hand, and two Chinaman's heads

which he had cut off, tied by their tails, and slung round his neck. I was witness myself to some of them producing five or six to obtain payment!!!

On the 4th of November an order arrived from the admiral for the fleet to proceed immediately to Lantow, where he was lying with only two vessels, and three Portuguese ships and a brig constantly annoying him; several sail of mandarine vessels were daily expected. The fleet weighed and proceeded towards Lantow. On passing the island of Lintin, three ships and a brig gave chase to us. The Ladrones prepared to board; but night closing we lost sight of them: I am convinced they altered their course and stood from us. These vessels were in the pay of the Chinese government, and style themselves the Invincible Squadron, cruizing in the river Tigris to annihilate the Ladrones!

On the fifth, in the morning, the red squadron anchored in a bay under Lantow; the black squadron stood to the eastward. In this bay they hauled several of their vessels on shore to bream their bottoms and repair them.

In the afternoon of the 8th of November, four ships, a brig and a schooner came off the mouth of the bay. At first the pirates were much alarmed, supposing them to be English vessels come to rescue us. Some of them threatened to hang us to the mast-head for them to fire at; and with much difficulty we persuaded

them that they were Portuguese. The Ladrones had only seven junks in a fit state for action; these they hauled outside, and moored them head and stern across the bay; and manned all the boats belonging to the repairing vessels ready for boarding.

The Portuguese observing these manœuvres hove to, and communicated by boats. Soon afterwards they made sail, each ship firing her broadside as she passed, but without effect, the shot falling far short: The Ladrones did not return a single shot, but waved their colours, and threw up rockets, to induce them to come further in, which they might easily have done, the outside junks lying in four fathoms water which I sounded myself: though the Portuguese in their letters to Macao, lamented there was not sufficient water for them to engage closer, but that they would certainly prevent their escaping before the mandarine fleet arrived!

On the 20th of November, early in the morning, discovered an immense fleet of mandarine vessels standing for the bay. On nearing us, they formed a line, and stood close in; each vessel as she discharged her guns tacked to join the rear and reload. They kept up a constant fire for about two hours, when one of their largest vessels was blown up by a firebrand thrown from a Ladrone junk; after which they kept at a more respectful distance, but continued firing without intermission 'till the 21st at night, when it fell calm.

The Ladrones towed out seven large vessels, with about two hundred row-boats to board them; but a breeze springing up, they made sail and escaped. The Ladrones returned into the bay, and anchored. The Portuguese and mandarines followed, and continued a heavy cannonading during that night and the next day. The vessel I was in had her foremast shot away, which they supplied very expeditiously by taking a mainmast from a smaller vessel.

On the 23d, in the evening, it again fell calm; the Ladrones towed out fifteen junks in two divisions, with the intention of surrounding them, which was nearly effected, having come up with and boarded one, when a breeze suddenly sprung up. The captured vessel mounted twenty-two guns. Most of her crew leaped overboard; sixty or seventy were taken immediately, cut to pieces and thrown into the river. Early in the morning the Ladrones returned into the bay, and anchored in the same situation as before. The Portuguese and mandarines followed, keeping up a constant fire. The Ladrones never returned a single shot, but always kept in readiness to board, and the Portuguese were careful never to allow them an opportunity.

On the 28th, at night, they sent in eight fire-vessels, which if properly constructed must have done great execution, having every advantage they could wish for to effect their purpose; a strong breeze and tide di-

rectly into the bay, and the vessels lying so close together that it was impossible to miss them. On their first appearance the Ladrones gave a general shout, supposing them to be mandarine vessels* on fire, but were very soon convinced of their mistake. They came very regularly into the centre of the fleet, two and two, burning furiously; one of them came alongside of the vessel I was in, but they succeeded in booming her off. She appeared to be a vessel of about thirty tons; her hold was filled with straw and wood, and there were a few small boxes of combustibles on her deck, which exploded alongside of us without doing any damage. The Ladrones, however, towed them all on shore, extinguished the fire, and broke them up for fire-wood. The Portuguese claim the credit of constructing these destructive machines, and actually sent a dispatch to the Governor of Macao, saying they had destroyed at least one-third of the Ladrones' fleet, and hoped soon to effect their purpose by totally annihilating them.

On the 29th of November, the Ladrones being all ready for sea, they weighed and stood boldly out, bidding defiance to the invincible squadron and imperial fleet, consisting of ninety-three war-junks, six Portuguese ships, a brig, and a schooner. Immediately the Ladrones weighed, they made all sail. The Ladrones chased them two or three hours, keeping up a constant

* The *Chang lung* vessels.

fire; finding they did not come up with them, they hauled their wind and stood to the eastward.

Thus terminated the boasted blockade, which lasted nine days, during which time the Ladrones completed all their repairs. In this action not a single Ladrone vessel was destroyed, and their loss about thirty or forty men. An American was also killed, one of three that remained out of eight taken in a schooner. I had two very narrow escapes: the first, a twelve-pounder shot fell within three or four feet of me; another took a piece out of a small brass-swivel on which I was standing. The chief's wife* frequently sprinkled me with garlic-water, which they consider an effectual charm against shot. The fleet continued under sail all night, steering towards the eastward. In the morning they anchored in a large bay surrounded by lofty and barren mountains.

On the 2nd of December I received a letter from Lieutenant Maughn, commander of the Honourable Company's cruizer Antelope, saying that he had the ransom on board, and had been three days cruizing after us, and wished me to settle with the chief on the securest method of delivering it. The chief agreed to send us in a small gun-boat, 'till we came within sight

* Probably the wife of Ching yĭh, whose family name was Shĭh, or stone.

of the Antelope; then the Compradore's boat was to bring the ransom and receive us.

I was so agitated at receiving this joyful news, that it was with considerable difficulty I could scrawl about two or three lines to inform Lieutenant Maughn of the arrangements I had made. We were all so deeply affected by the gratifying tidings, that we seldom closed our eyes, but continued watching day and night for the boat. On the 6th she returned with Lieutenant Maughn's answer, saying, he would respect any single boat; but would not allow the fleet to approach him. The chief then, according to his first proposal, ordered a gun-boat to take us, and with no small degree of pleasure we left the Ladrone fleet about four o'clock in the morning.

At one P.M. saw the Antelope under all sail, standing toward us. The Ladrone boat immediately anchored, and dispatched the Compradore's boat for the ransom, saying, that if she approached nearer, they would return to the fleet; and they were just weighing when she shortened sail, and anchored about two miles from us. The boat did not reach her 'till late in the afternoon, owing to the tide's being strong against her. She received the ransom and left the Antelope just before dark. A mandarine boat that had been lying concealed under the land, and watching their manœuvres, gave chace to her, and was within a few fathoms of

taking her, when she saw a light, which the Ladrones answered, and the Mandarine hauled off.

Our situation was now a most critical one; the ransom was in the hands of the Ladrones, and the Compradore dare not return with us for fear of a second attack from the mandarine boat. The Ladrones would not remain 'till morning, so we were obliged to return with them to the fleet.

In the morning the chief inspected the ransom, which consisted of the following articles: two bales of superfine scarlet cloth; two chests of opium; two casks of gunpowder; and a telescope; the rest in dollars. He objected to the telescope not being new; and said he should detain one of us 'till another was sent, or a hundred dollars in lieu of it. The Compradore however agreed with him for the hundred dollars.

Every thing being at length settled, the chief ordered two gun-boats to convey us near the Antelope; we saw her just before dusk, when the Ladrone boats left us. We had the inexpressible pleasure of arriving on board the Antelope at 7 P.M., where we were most cordially received, and heartily congratulated on our safe and happy deliverance from a miserable captivity, which we had endured for eleven weeks and three days.

(Signed) RICHARD GLASSPOOLE.

CHINA, December 8th, 1809.

A few Remarks on the Origin, Progress, Manners, and Customs of the Ladrones.

THE Ladrones are a disaffected race of Chinese, that revolted against the oppressions of the mandarines.—They first commenced their depredations on the Western coast (Cochin-China), by attacking small trading vessels in row-boats, carrying from thirty to forty men each. They continued this system of piracy several years; at length their successes, and the oppressive state of the Chinese, had the effect of rapidly increasing their numbers. Hundreds of fishermen and others flocked to their standard; and as their number increased they consequently became more desperate. They blockaded all the principal rivers, and attacked several large junks, mounting from ten to fifteen guns each.

With these junks they formed a very formidable fleet, and no small vessels could trade on the coast with safety. They plundered several small villages, and exercised such wanton barbarity as struck horror into the breasts of the Chinese. To check these enormities the government equipped a fleet of forty imperial war-junks, mounting from eighteen to twenty guns each. On the very first rencontre, twenty-eight of the imperial junks struck to the pirates; the rest saved themselves by a precipitate retreat.

These junks, fully equipped for war, were a great acquisition to them. Their numbers augmented so rapidly, that at the period of my captivity they were supposed to amount to near seventy thousand men, eight hundred large vessels, and nearly a thousand small ones, including row-boats. They were divided into five squadrons, distinguished by different coloured flags: each squadron commanded by an admiral, or chief; but all under the orders of A-juo-chay (Ching yĭh saou), their premier chief, a most daring and enterprising man, who went so far as to declare his intention of displacing the present Tartar family from the throne of China, and to restore the ancient Chinese dynasty.

This extraordinary character would have certainly shaken the foundation of the government, had he not been thwarted by the jealousy of the second in command, who declared his independence, and soon after surrendered to the mandarines with five hundred vessels, on promise of a pardon. Most of the inferior chiefs followed his example. A-juo-Chay (Ching yĭh saou) held out a few months longer, and at length surrendered with sixteen thousand men, on condition of a general pardon, and himself to be made a mandarine of distinction.

The Ladrones have no settled residence on shore, but live constantly in their vessels. The after-part is appropriated to the captain and his wives; he generally

has five or six. With respect to conjugal rights they are religiously strict; no person is allowed to have a woman on board, unless married to her according to their laws. Every man is allowed a small berth, about four feet square, where he stows with his wife and family.

From the number of souls crowded in so small a space, it must naturally be supposed they are horridly dirty, which is evidently the case, and their vessels swarm with all kinds of vermin. Rats in particular, which they encourage to breed, and eat them as great delicacies;* in fact, there are very few creatures they will not eat. During our captivity we lived three weeks on caterpillars boiled with rice. They are much addicted to gambling, and spend all their leisure hours at cards and smoking opium.

* The Chinese in Canton only eat a particular sort of rat, which is very large and of a whitish colour.

THE END.

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THE

CATECHISM

OF

THE SHAMANS.

THE

CATECHISM

OF

THE SHAMANS;

OR, THE

LAWS AND REGULATIONS

OF

THE PRIESTHOOD OF BUDDHA, IN CHINA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE ORIGINAL,

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

CHARLES FRIED. NEUMANN.

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TO

SIR GEORGE STAUNTON, BART.

THIS VOLUME

IS,

WITH PROFOUND RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

DEDICATED, BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

PREFACE.

THE Translator of the following CATECHISM having lately visited Canton, was fortunate enough to procure a large Buddhist library; the greater part printed at the monastery, opposite to the European factories. This library consists of about three hundred large volumes, and is divided into numerous books: including all the sacred works translated from, and bound up like Sanscrit manuscripts: also the most valuable original publications of the Buddhists in China, and all their liturgical works. The Chinese philosophers and literati are quite correct,

when they complain, that human life is not long enough to study the works of Shakiamuny and his followers. "What an easy task, is it not" (says one of them), "to read our classics and philosophers, in comparison to the five or six thousand volumes concerning the doctrine of Buddha!"*

In Canton the Author had not time to examine closely his valuable and interesting collection of Buddhistic works; he looked slightly over them, with the view to meet with a treatise in a small size, which would serve as an introduction, or guide in this vast wilderness of Indian physics, ethics, and metaphysics. Perusing many volumes, he at last thought that the following Catechism would be the best adapted to give a tolerable idea of the speculative and practical part of Buddhism; to show more particularly in what

* The Nepalese Buddhists assert, that the original body of their sacred Scriptures amounted, when complete, to 84,000 volumes!! (Hodgson in the Asiatic Researches, xvi., 421.)

form the doctrine of Shakiamuny appears in the middle empire; what customs and superstitions the Buddhists accepted from the Chinese, and in what light they consider the national literature and philosophy of that country. For, it is known, that the Buddhists, like the Jesuits, will readily change their words and exterior doctrine with the people and the country among whom they reside. This accounts for different superstitions with which Buddhism is mingled in Nepaul, Bootan, Thibet, Mongolia, Ceylon, China, Japan, and in the Indo-Chinese nations, where all was darkness and confusion, before the introduction of Buddhism. History only begins with the missionaries of this doctrine in Siam, Burma and Cambodja. The first kings are said to have come into the former country from Bahar, or Magadha, 543 years B.C., and the chronological tables begin nearly at the same time. So early as the time of Abul Fazel, no traces of

Buddhism were to be found in Hindostan, its original birth-place. By the persecution of the Buddhists in their native country, a great part of the literature of India has been lost, and in particular, as Wilson thinks, all the ancient literature of the people speaking Tamul.

The following Commentary on the laws and regulations of Buddha, was compiled by the "Shaman *Choo-hung*, of the monastery *Yun-tse*, a follower of the laws of the Bodhisatwas;—and the Shaman *Hung-tsan*, of the monastery *Ting-hoo-shan*, a Bhikshu, whose heart was dedicated to knowledge, Bodhi, wrote the notes." The work was printed by subscription in the Hainan monastery, opposite to the European factories in Canton, under Kien-lung in the year 1763 of our era.* The Trans-

* This Catechism, as it may be presumed, was often printed, sometimes with and sometimes without prefaces and notes; the translator thought it not necessary to translate any of these prefaces;—those written with the current hand, he would never have been able to decipher.

lator has selected from the profuse Chinese notes what seemed necessary for understanding the text of the work, and added some of his own. These explanations would have been more copious had they not been written on board ship, and without the assistance of many valuable publications regarding Buddhism. He is particularly sorry that he could not consult some dissertations of M. Rémusat. That celebrated professor of Paris was kind enough to instruct the author in the rudiments of the Chinese language, and for any progress he may have made in the study of so very difficult an idiom, he feels indebted to the strictly grammatical precepts of that learned gentleman. Without the invariable rules of the construction or syntax, a Chinese phrase would signify everything and nothing.*

* That this is not so, has already been remarked in the first Chinese grammar which was printed. I mean the grammar of Varo, printed in wood-cuts at Canton, in the year 1703. The words, says this learned Dominican friar, "Puestaya en la oracion,

Surely, it is better to inquire in what the various religions and sects of the world, and the philosophers and their schools differ, than to run after similarities between the doctrines of the different ages and climates;—which after all are often only superficial, and show, what every body is aware of, that the speculations of men follow the same laws in every age and in every quarter of the world. Yet there is an uniformity observed in the history of the human race, which puzzles both the most uncultivated and the most acute understanding,—that which exists between the Sanscrit, the Greek, German, and Sclavonic languages; and that similarity which exists both in the doctrine and the ceremonies of Buddhism, and those of Roman Catholicism.

Concerning the uniformity of these

y hablando en determinada materia, ò junta con otra viene à tener determinada significaçion." Arte de la leng. Mandarin p. 19. Only three copies are known of this great literary curiosity; one is in Rome, one in Paris, and one is now in my possession.

languages, it is impossible that *chance* can have produced it; for there is no law in nature by which the sound of words (being themselves not imitative of a sound), and the grammatical development of speech should be the same; — if there were such a law, all languages must be alike, which certainly is not the case. But the uniformity which exists in the system, and in the ceremonies of Buddhism and Roman Catholicism, may be easier accounted for by the laws of nature. If we suppose an historical connection could exist between these two religions, it becomes a very important question—in what age or century this could have happened? Is it possible that the followers of Buddha —who was born at Kapilapur,* in the tenth century before our era—could have

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi. 454. "Having speedily subdued desire, unbounded wisdom was acquired by him at the foot of the *aswattha* tree." This is the tree near Gaya; spoken of, p. xx of our preface, fifty cubits high.

adopted their doctrine and their ceremonies from the Nestorians, or from the two or three Catholic monks who travelled over Tartary in the thirteenth or fourteenth century? It is certainly surprising that such an opinion should have been supported by some learned and ingenious men.* Is there any difference be-

* The Jesuits and the other Roman Catholic priests felt very uneasy on seeing the extraordinary similarity between Buddhism and Roman Catholicism, and they imagined two ways to get rid of this uneasiness; if Buddhism be not a corruption of Christianity, it is the invention of the devil. These opinions occur already in Trigautius. The following two passages seemed to me very remarkable; they are taken out of Bernhardi Vareni Descriptio regni Japoniæ et Siam. Cantabrigiæ 1673, p. 258, 261, who copies only Trigautius: "Sacrificuli (the Buddhists) vestes induunt nostris omnino simillimas, quas Ecclesiastico vocabulo *pluvialia* vocamus. Inter recitandum sæpe nomen quoddam repetunt, quod etiam ipsi fatentur ignorare; illud *Tolome* (Dharni) sonat, videntur fortasse sectam suam Apostoli auctoritate voluisse cohonestare."—"Præter hoc cœli Numen, triplex aliud effingunt, quorum unum ipsum Lauzu (Laotse) sectæ caput faciunt: atque ita hae duæ sectæ ternarium deorum suo quæque modo sibi fingunt, ut appareat ipsum falsitatis parentem, auctorem utriusque, nondum ambitiosum de divina similitudine cupiditatem deposuisse." The disciples of the Jesuits, and those scholars who wished to promote their interests by this powerful body, entertained the same opinions, concerning the similarity which exists between Buddhism and Roman Catholicism. Not only Buddhism, but the whole Hindoo church was often considered a mere corruption of Chris-

tween Buddhism before and after the thirteenth century? Are the Bodhisatwas, what the word implies, not all Popes; and are not the immediate followers of Buddha called Bodhisatwas;—that is, beings who act by the *holy spirit* of Buddha and are his *vicars* on earth? Certain it is, that according to the sentiments of the greater part of the followers of Buddha, every superior in his own district, like every bishop in his diocese, is a Vicar of the Divinity; and he requires, as it is clearly said in our Catechism, implicit obedience like Buddha himself.

The monarchical government of the Dalai Lama is only respected by that portion of the Buddhists, who received their religion from Thibet, as

tianity. "The Rajputs," says the Portuguese historian *De Faria*, "acknowledge *one God in three persons, and worship the blessed Virgin*, a doctrine which they have preserved ever since the time of the apostles." (*Kerr*, Collection of Voyages and Travels. Edinburgh, 1812. Vol. vi. p. 228.)

the inhabitants of Bootan, the Mongolians, and the Manchow: the Chinese followers of Buddha scarcely acknowledge the superiority of the Thibetan Pope. The Buddhistic system was neither formed nor materially changed by the high priest (Dalai Lama) created by the descendents of Chingize. The Nestorians could not have brought this monarchical system of the church to Thibet, because they have been its bitterest enemies; and to say that certain friars, who were ignorant both of the customs and of the language of the country, taught the Roman Catholic system to the Buddhists of Asia, would be quite the same as to say, that many ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church were brought to Italy by certain Mahometan captives, who happened to be in that country, in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth century.

Alexandria has been, as is well known,

the great market-place of the world; where not only goods but also opinions and doctrines were often changed and mixed together during the course of the third and fourth century of our era. "The population of Alexandria," says the celebrated author of the 'Epicurean,' "consisted at that time of the most motley miscellany of nations, religions and sects, that had ever been brought together in one city. Beside the school of the Grecian Platonist, was seen the oratory of the cabbalistic Jew; while the church of the Christian stood undisturbed over the crypts of the Egyptian Hierophant." The influence of the neoplatonic school on the dogmas of the church is obvious, and the similarity between the metaphysics of the Buddhists and Gnostics is equally striking. Mani, the founder of the Manicheism, travelled, as Mirkhond says, far into the east. Being

an eclectic, he made his choice from the different religions, and said he was the promised Paraclete, that is, a Bodhisatwa. His whole metaphysical doctrine, his symbolical language, and in particular the division of his followers into *lay-men* (auditors), and *priesthood* (Electi), and the different duties prescribed to each of them, seem to be verbally copied from Buddhism. It seems also, by an oath which the followers of Mani must swear before they could be received into the orthodox church,—that they supposed Zoroaster, Buddha, and Christ, one and the same person. Buddhism also was known, as we see by their works, to Clemens of Alexandria and to St. Hieronymus, and a knowledge of this doctrine could not escape a man of the learning and genius of Bardesanes. But in spite of all these copious signs of a connexion between this oriental philosophy and that of the west,

there is not the least reason to suppose that the hierarchical system of the Roman Church had been borrowed in the third or fourth century from the Lamas:—we know, too well, the gradual encroachments on the liberty of the church by the bishop and the clergy of Rome.

But, are the ceremonies and the greater part of the Roman Catholic doctrine new institutions,—or are they not rather the old Jewish and Heathenish customs and opinions mingled and confounded together? The learned reader knows the works where he may find what portion of the new Roman doctrine is derived from Judaism, and what part from Paganism. The question regarding the intercourse which might have existed between Rome and Magadha,* is therefore the same as the old and

* Near Gaya, in Chinese, Kea ya, is a tree called *Poo te* (Bodhi) *choo*, or the *tree of knowledge*; this is the celebrated place where Shakia composed or finished his doctrine, and became Buddha. Gaya is a city in the province and district of Bahar, or Magadha,

puzzling problem regarding the connexion between ancient Egypt and Greece on one part, andIndia and Persia on the other. It is strange that, in our times, learned and ingenious men could, against the evidence of the best informed Greeks themselves, deny that Greece received the seeds of its religion and civilization

lat. 24° 49′, long. 85′, and having here composed or compiled his religious works, Shakia made use of the dialect of this country: " The Pali closely resembles the Magadhi, that is, the vernacular language of Magadha, or South Bahar; but we now know that the Buddhists used indiscriminately Pali, or Sanscrit." (Hamilton, East-India Gazetteer, s. v. Bahar.)—Shakia Sinha was not born at Gaya, as is often supposed, but "in the city Kapálvastu, or Kapilapura, which is near Gangaságar," (Hodgson, Sketch of Buddhism, p.20.) In the true *Tables of the Religion* of Buddha (See the second note o the text of the Catechism) is a map of India; Magadha, Mo-kĕe-tih, with Gaya, and the famous tree is laid down southerly of the Ganges, but Buddha's birth-place is on the north side of the river, and called Kea-pe-lo-kwo, the realm of Kapila; it is exactly opposite to the tree of Gaya, and to judge from the distance very near Oud, or Ayodhya, lat. 26° 48′, long. 82° 4′. It is stated in the same work that Shakia went into the Nirvâna at Paou-hoo-na, or Benares, anciently called Varánashí. The maps and the descriptions of the particular kingdoms in India, which are to be found in the first book of Standard Tables of the Religion, are certainly exceedingly interesting; I could easily distinguish Nepo-lo, Nepaul, Naipala in Sanscrit, Keuh-noo, Kanoge, &c.—Rémusat has just now announced a large work on the geography of India, as far as it is connected with Buddhism.

from Egypt and Asia! The mere fact, told by Herodotus and others, that they are indebted to the Phenicians for their letters, is enough to show that religion and civilization came from foreign countries to Greece. And if the Greeks themselves had not acknowledged this fact, we would be aware of it by comparing the remains of the Phœnician, or rather Babylonian alphabet, with the letters of the most ancient Greek inscriptions. A nation without letters is a nation of barbarians, and a people who bring the art of writing to a foreign place, bring far more than the mere alphabet. Hindoo religion, and the Devanagari writing, travelled hand in hand over the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and among the nations on the continent between India and China; the Malays received at the same time the Koran and the Arabic characters; and even in our

time, religion, civilization, and letters were introduced at the same period on the Sandwich and on other islands in the Pacific.

It would be presumption to answer such a very difficult question, as that concerning the intercourse between the East and West in those times, which by the historians of ancient Greece are styled *the Unknown*. It is not only possible, but it seems very probable, that there existed no actual intercourse whatever between Buddhism and Roman Catholicism,—that they are only similar, because both are the result of the industry, the disposition, and the passions of nature, which, as has been before remarked, are the same in every age and in every country. The anti-scriptural priest seeks every where to usurp the place of his God; he wishes every where to raise the merit of belief the more unreasonable it is. He holds in detesta-

tion the liberty of human thought, and is every moment prepared to denounce death and damnation to all who wish not to be governed by the will of another. "The human mind, whenever it is placed in the same situation, will, in ages the most distant, and in countries the most remote, assume the same form, and be distinguished by the same manners."

It has for some time past been the fashion for learned men to praise greatly the doctrine of Shakiamuny; but it seems that this praise is very much overrated. It is true that Buddhism blunted the edge of the barbarian ferocity of the Mongolians; but what positive advantages have resulted from this doctrine in Tartary? Is the state of society much better than it was in the time of Chingize? There are thousands of idle people whose business it is to do *Nothing*, to think on *Nothing*, and to live as

much as possible upon *Nothing*. A wise legislation works against the slothfulness of human nature, and Buddha seemed to have adored this indolent goddess. Abul Fazel states that the Buddhists are divided into four sects, according to the different extent in which they understand this term, *Nothing*. One party says it is a negative, another, that it is a positive *Nothing*. If both parties would become enlightened and sincere enough, they would confess they have no just idea of a negative nor positive *Nothing*. They moreover speak of some under Gods who made and who govern the world, like the demiourgos of Plato and the Gnostics. For the Deity itself,—to say it with the words of Lucretius,

> " Immortali ævo summa cum pace fruatur,
> " Semota ab nostris rebus, sejunctaque longe."

The translators of these idle and fruitless speculations will often be obliged to say

with the honest Cicero, " Though I have translated the Timæus of Plato, I did not understand it." Men of sound and liberal minds cannot satisfy themselves with the words of any ancient or modern school; and they must, however reluctantly, acknowledge that as soon as we presume to reason upon infinite substance, or infinite nothing, and as often as we deduce any positive conclusions from a negative idea, we are involved in darkness and inevitable contradiction. But this we know, man is born to act and to suffer, and not to spend his life in worthless speculations and monkish idleness; he is not born to thwart all his affections, but to enjoy the world. The low state of half the human kind, the mean oppression of the weaker sex in every country where Buddhism prevails, would alone speak volumes against this doctrine. The Oriental world in general

wants a Socrates to turn the human mind from metaphysics to speculations upon life.*

Buddhism is a reform of the old Hindoo orthodox church; it is a new building on the same ground, and with the same materials, but without that most cruel and abominable invention of the human mind —the infamous system of castes. All the outworks of Hindooism remain; the whole legion of gods and goddesses, of spirits and demons, together with all the fabulous mountains and seas, with their monstrous inhabitants. In a word, Buddhism is the Lutheranism of the Hindoo church; and the Brahmans were not less cruel than the priesthood of the

* Passerat, a poet and critic of the sixteenth century in France, has written a Latin poem on *Nihil*, in which, without knowing it himself, he explains perfectly well the metaphysics of Buddhism:

Nihil interitus et originis expers,
Immortale *Nihil*, *Nihil* omni parte beatum.
Felix cui *Nihil* est, etc.

There are similar passages in Lord Rochester's poem upon Nothing.

Catholic church; the reformers of the East were extirpated by fire and sword, like the reformers in the West. But reason, once excited, cannot easily be checked; there are many good reasons to suppose, that soon after Shakia, another reformer, the head of the Jinas, spread his doctrine over the "holy country where the antelope runs;" the Jinas cut down more extensively the vast forest of fraud and superstition. Jinism is, in fact, the Calvinism of the Hindoo church. Both Buddhism and Jinism affect to be considered as new doctrines, produced by a fresh incarnation of the conservating principle of the Hindoo-triad. It is known, that even the Brahmans consider Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, and he (Vishnu) is called *Jina* by the followers of that doctrine.

At a much later period, Nanak, the apostle of the Seiks, still farther cleared

the jungles and swamps of Hindoo superstition, and found his way to a mere Deism:—Nanak's doctrine is the Socinianism of the Hindoo church.* But a pure doctrine—such is the fate of mankind,—will always be corrupted; superstition and despotism always walk hand in hand to destroy the peace of the world. The Seiks were formerly divided into many petty independent states, and united only by their common belief in the pure doctrine of Nanak. Ranajit Sinh, the present sovereign of the Seiks, raised himself to

* Besides these three heretical doctrines, Buddhism, Jinism, and Seikism, the Brahmans reckon a fourth, the Nasticks, or unbelievers; but the Nasticks are philosophers, and pay no regard at all to religion. Six other philosophic schools, so masterly described by Abul Fazel and Colebrooke, are considered orthodox by the Hindoo clergy. Many are the orthodox sects who have a particular worship or particular tenets and saints, something like the *sacra privata* of the ancient Romans, and the local superstitions in the modern Roman Catholic Church. The Hindoo clergy tolerated every sect and every worship which would not deprive them of their worldly privileges. The learned and valuable dissertation on the Vishnaivas by Wilson would alone be sufficient to prove this remarkable and interesting fact.

the sovereignty over all the different tribes. He is exceedingly kind to the Brahmans, and as eager to introduce again all the old Hindoo superstitions. Ranajit Sinh is the only independent sovereign of India; his territory is very large, and his treasure and army are, as it is said, considerable. French officers instruct the soldiers in European tactics. Perhaps the sovereign of the Seiks only assumes a fondness for the superstitions of the old Hindoo church, in order to be considered the avenger of the religion, and the liberator of his country.

I cannot conclude these prefatory observations, without acknowledging the kindness of the British residents in China, generally; I consider it my duty to state my particular obligations to Mr. Lanc. Dent, and Dr. Morrison. How delightful is it to find, so far from home, in the midst of the self-conceited and semi-

barbarous Chinese, kindred feelings and pursuits! I say, *semi-barbarous Chinese*, for a nation which enjoys a regular government and a copious literature, should not be called an assemblage of barbarians. But on the other hand, it may be said, that a nation which will never acknowledge the rights of any other independent people,—that a government who from principle, will never admit any alterations in its worn-out institutions, and precludes itself from all the advantages which foreign intercourse and foreign inventions offer—cannot be called, in the modern sense of the word, a civilized state. For what else is civilization than the progressive cultivation and development of all our reasoning faculties? The Romans, as Montesquieu remarks, only became Romans through adopting foreign customs and institutions which were better than their own:—the Chinese, however, act quite contrary

to this Roman policy; they have all the proud and disgusting ignorance of an over-polished and cowardly people. It seems, therefore, that we Europeans have a right to call China a half barbarous, or half civilized country. The time is perhaps not far distant, when some philosophic historian, in explaining the downfall of this ancient empire, may use the remarkable words of a highly gifted British statesman,—the words of the late Sir Thomas Munro, regarding the conquest of India by Great Britain: "*A civilized and warlike nation surrounded by half-civilized neighbours, must necessarily, in spite of itself, extend its empire over them.*"*

CH. FRIED. NEUMANN.

* There exists a very singular account of "the Gods, Clergy, and Devotion of the Chinese," written by a private merchant and seaman, Capt. Alex. Hamilton. "*Fo*," says the author, "is a very majestic God, and is always placed with a great number of little Gods to attend him. *Minifo* in Fokien, I take to be the God *Miglect* (?) at Canton, being alike in shape and countenance. The great God that made the heavens and earth (the Tëen, 10095), they bestow

an human shape on him, like a young man in strength and vigour, quite opposite to the church of Rome, who make his picture like *Salvadore* Winter, old, cold and hoary. I have seen many more whose names I have forgot, some with human bodies, and dragons, lions, tigers, and dogs' heads, and one I saw like *Stour Yonker* in Finland, with a man's body and clothes and with eagle's feet and talons in the stead of hands."—A new account of the East-Indies, being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alex. Hamilton, Edinburgh 1727, vol. ii. p. 267.

BOOK FIRST.

THE LAWS.

LAWS

OF

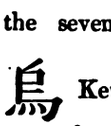
THE SHAMANS

DEFINITION OT THE WORD SHAMAN.

Shama[1] is a word of the Sanscrit language,[2] signifying *compassionate feeling;* that is to say, to feel compassion towards those who walk in the wrong way—to look benevolently on the world, to feel universal charity, and to renovate all creatures. This word means, also, to observe one's-self with the utmost diligence, or to endeavour to attain the Nihility.[3] We have Ten laws, and several regulations.

NOTES.

(1.) 門沙 Sha mun, a word written with various characters (Matuanlin, B. 226, p. 2, r. l. 8. In

our text we read Sha-*me* 7571. In the notes the variant of *me* is used, as noticed in Kanghe, Rad. 57, with five strokes), is the Sanscrit श्राम and means in this language and in Bengali (see Carey's Dictionary) *tranquillity, calmness, indifference*, &c.; but these words must be taken in the religious sense of the Buddhistic doctrine. Youth who are destined for the priesthood are, as early as seven years of age, brought to the monastery; from the seventh to the thirteenth they are called  Kew woo Shamans;—Shamans who *expel the crows* from the rice or corn-fields, to indicate that these children are up to that time quite at liberty, and only appointed to watch the fruits of the field. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth year they are called Fa Shamans—*Shamans of the law*, because they are employed by the managing priest of the monastery, and are obliged to study. From the twentieth to the seventieth year of their age they are *regular* Shamans, and have to fulfil the ten laws included in the following pages.

(2.) The Sanscrit language is in Chinese called the *Fan* language, and in the comments upon our Catechism, it is said, that "this idiom is spoken by the inhabitants of the *Tëen choo* country, or India:—that it is the language of Heaven, and is coeval with the world, and for that reason called *Fan*." This seems an accurate expla-

nation of the word *Sanscrit*. Indeed *Fan* itself seems to be the first syllable *San*; the Chinese say plainly that Fan is not the name of a country. It is the Chinese custom to use in general only the first syllable, but sometimes the last, of foreign words, which makes it very difficult to distinguish them from Chinese monosyllables. To the words of the Fan language the worshippers of Buddha ascribe wonderful effects, and the prayers are generally in this idiom, written with Chinese characters. The books which have been translated from the Sanscrit into the Chinese, are bound up like the Sanscrit manuscripts, and called Fan-books. In a Buddhistic compilation, printed at the monastery opposite to the European factories in Canton (at the *Haï-chung-sze*, "the sea banner temple," as Dr. Morrison translates the word); in the 法界安立圖 Fa keae ngan li too, ("The standard Tables of the Religion,")—B. i. p. 11. v., it is said that there exist sixty different characters or modes of writing in the world, but the Fan writing is the first, &c. Matuanlin remarks, that the Hindoos have characters, that they are very skilful in astronomy, and that their books are called Fan-books.—(See the Description of India, B. 338, p. 17v).

(3.) All religions which do not profess a particular *Revelation, are pantheistic:* this is the case with Greece

and Rome, with the doctrine of Shakia and Confucius. Pantheism is also the end and term of all philosophy, which really merits the name, and is far both from phantastical or sophistical speculations:—in one word, the human understanding goes no farther than Pantheism. The founders neither of religious sects nor of philosophic schools could rest satisfied with this mortifying result of speculative enquiries. They went a step farther in search of a thing which is self-existent without being subjected to the changes of the universe. One sect describes this supposed last thing in one way, and another otherwise; one school speaks of it in different terms from another; but there is only one essential difference between all these schools and doctrines. *This same last thing is either Eternal matter or Eternal spirit;* for *nothing* must be considered nothing, because we cannot comprehend a nothing which is something, or a something which is nothing. But, nevertheless, we must often in the history of religion and philosophy, satisfy ourselves with this dialectical play of words; and this is particularly the case with the doctrine of Laotse, which bears many signs of an Indian origin. Laotse, as many Indian philosophers, and in particular the author of the Bhagavad-Gita, seems not to overstep the boundary of human understanding. His doctrine, as well as that of the Bhagavat is beautifully described by Lucretius. (De Rer. Nat. I. 238, 1075.)

Quando aliud ex alio reficit natura, nec ullam
Rem gigni patitur, nisi morte adjuta aliena.
* * * * *
Corpora solventes, abeant per inane profundum,
Temporis ut puncto nihil exstet reliquiarum
Desertum praeter *spatium* et primordia cæca.

This "desertum spatium" is that *woo wei, url woo puh wei* (Tao te king, B. i. c. 37), that *which is not, and is everywhere;* and the *perfect men*,—as the Tao priests in their humility call themselves,—try in many ways to explain this something-nothing, or nothing-something, and I dare affirm that the idealism of the Neoplatonicians remains far behind the abstract abstractions of the Taos. One of the most extraordinary works of this kind is a small book called 常清靜經 Chang tsing tsing king (Deserti aeterni spatii liber normalis) which, as the chief works of this kind, is ascribed to Laotse.

Concerning the last point,—the cause of all effects, the worshippers of Buddha are divided into four sects, (Ayeen Akbery, ii. 436, London ed. 1800-8), and every sect describes the Nihility, or Nirvâna, in its own particular way. The descriptions of the Nirvâna (written in the Chinese characters 槃涅 Nie pan, and sometimes also with other characters of the same sound), as they are found in Chinese Buddhistic works, have a strong tendency to an eternal matter, to *primordia cæca*. The Chinese

translate Nirvâna by Yuen-tseih (12536, 10767) *stillness* or *inaction on all sides.* Matuanlin has some good critical remarks on this point. (B. 226, p. 12r.) He shows the impossibility of something coming out of nothing; and it is the opinion of this learned critic, that the doctrine of Laotse is in this respect not different from the doctrine of Buddha. "Examining this work (he speaks of the Pradjaking, containing the esoteric doctrine of Buddhism), the sentence—NIHILITY, the ruler, containing *every-thing*, and ENTITY, the ruler, imply the same meaning. For this reason therefore it is falsely said that in the beginning was Nihility. If Entity, that will say things which have existence, would not exist, you could in consequence of this dogma not speak of any existence at all, and all that really exists, would only appear like visions in a dream, bubbles, shadows and cloudy vapours, and lastly revert into Nihility. Both expressions, Nihility and Non-Existence imply the same meaning, and *that Non-Existence* is the state of undisturbed repose (Tsing tsing, desertum spatium). The followers of Lao explain *Nihility* by the words *quiet* or *stillness*, which is in reality the explanation of the followers of Buddha."

These are the actual words of Matuanlin. That which is frequently quoted under his name being extracts only of former works, to be met with in his Encyclopædia.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

TO

BOOK I.

THIS is the rule of Buddha[1] for the priesthood. Till the fifth moon before the summer solstice, let their minds be closely directed to the Laws and Regulations; from the fifth moon upwards, let them attend the tutor's instructions, and give themselves up to religious exercises.[2]

Before the head and beard are shorn, they receive the following ten laws, and then they mount the altar, where they receive all the other laws.[3] From this moment they are really Shamans, for these laws are the foundation of our doctrine. But when they first receive these laws, neither the stupid man, from his want of judgment, nor the lazy, from his carelessness, can come to a proper understanding of them.

If the regular course of study is once disturbed, you cannot hope to arrive at the dignity of a Bhaga or a Bodhisatwa,[4] which indeed is a great pity. I have therefore taken in hand this summary of the ten laws, and written this commentary, that it may serve for instruction to the ignorant, and enlighten in every direction. He who wishes to become a priest must give implicit obedience to this summary,[5] be sincere and far from all wickedness, this will carry him to the steps of a Bhaga,[6] and, at a distance even, towards the foundation of a Bodhisatwa.[7] Now it is easily to be seen, that the way to perfection is made clear if the instructions regarding the laws are clear and distinct, and if the mind of the priest is attentive. For those who are anxious to be enlightened, I have taken the trouble to arrange in a certain order the several precepts, which are dispersed in many books. I will add, that the following ten Laws are contained in the sacred book of the Ten Laws of the Shamans, as commanded by Buddha himself, to the son of Sarîra or Sarîraja, and published by Lohla.[8]

NOTES.

(1.) It is now generally known that *Buddha* (in Chinese *Fo* or *Fo tow*, written with various characters) is only the title of the Muni, Shakia—"perfect knowledge or wisdom." The signification of this Sanscrit word is, like that of many others, very well known to the Chinese worshippers of Buddha. They translate it by 覺淨 Tsing kio (Matuanlin, B. 226, 1r), and say that the proper name Shakia means anybody *who* is able *to exercise humanity* (neng jin, Matuanlin, l. c. 7 vers. Shamun jih yung, p. 29), which is, as far as I know, also correct. *Shakia* is evidently derived from the root शक्, which has among other significations also, that of being *able*. There can be no doubt concerning the period when Bhudda appeared; the best Chinese authors universally give the 24th year of Chao wang of the dynasty Chow, as the date of his birth. There are indeed two different assertions, but these appear to be mistakes; one of the numerous Bodhisatwas is probably taken for Buddha himself, and thus we may easily explain all the differences in the accounts of the "redeemer of this age." In modern Chinese compilations there are sometimes wonderful mistakes relating to Buddha and his doctrine. In a large compilation of sixty books, made by command of the last Governor-general of Kwangtong and

Kwangsi, by the command of his Excellency *Yuen*, it is said that the *Folang* (in former times the empire of the *Francs*, now only *Frenchmen*) are so called, because they were the oldest worshippers of Buddha; and that after that they were converted to the religion of *Tëen-choo*, the Lord of Heaven, *viz.* to Christianity. 南巡叢嶺—(" Memoirs of the South of the Meiling Mountains," printed at Canton in 1830, in 18 vols. Book 57, p. 106.) In all authentic histories, as in the Kangmoo, in many passages of the twenty-three immense historical collections in the original works of the Chinese Buddhists, as well as their translations out of the Sanscrit:—in all these works the account of the birth and life of Buddha perfectly corresponds, and is given nearly in the same words. Shakia was born at Kapilapur (Oude, see Preface) the 8th day of the 4th moon in the 24th year of Chao wang; whose reign began in the year 1052 before Christ:—that is the month of April or May of the year 1029. He died at seventy-nine years of age, 950 before our era, and was a contemporary of Solomon, Sesostris, and Theseus. It would carry us too far to give here a detailed notice of Buddha's life.

(2.) It is said in the comments on this passage, that in the same manner as different bodies require different medicines, so different minds need different studies. These

studies are then brought under twelve different divisions, like the sciences of the followers of the Nyâya. (Abul Fazel, ii. 403.)

(3). The great rule of 250 laws, as it is said in the notes on this passage, which every Bhaga has to observe.

(4). The Chinese word *Kao* (*high*) in the text, signifies the title of a Bhaga; the term *Yuen* (*remote*), that of a Bodhisatwa.

(5). The Bhagavad Gita is, in many respects, the best commentary on the Buddhistic tenets. (Bhag. II. 50, p. 74, ed. Schlegel). "Mente devotus in hoc œvo utraque dimittit bene et male facta." This state of mind, under the name of योग yoga, is very much spoken of by the greater portion of the Indian philosophers; particularly by Patanjali, whose school is distinguished by that name. In the Chinese-Buddhistic works this word is written Show-koo (9353, 6480), and commonly taken in the sense of a period.

(6). भग *absence of passion, religious tranquillity*, is written in Chinese by the following characters 丘比 Pe kew, and means a higher class of the priesthood. Perhaps this word is merely an abreviation of the second order of the five classes of the priesthood, called Bhikshu. (Hodgson, l. c. p. 25.) The Chinese-Buddhists call a

Nun, Pekewne, 尼 (the two first characters are the same as in Bhaga,) which is the Sanscrit word भगिनी Bhaginî, sister. I have already remarked, that the Chinese very often take the first or the last syllable of a foreign word for the whole; so they say Ne for Bhaginî, këe (5674) for kalpa, &c.

(7). The Chinese write this word *Poosa*, and it is now generally taken in the sense of "*spirit, a supernatural being.*" A Poosa and a 仙 Sëen, of whom the followers of Lao know so many stories, is nearly the same:—they are intermediate beings between men and the supreme power. In the true meaning of the Buddhistic doctrine, a Bodhisatwa is, what the word clearly implies, a being who acts by the *spirit of wisdom*, and remains only one step behind *Buddha*—behind *Wisdom itself*. A Bodhisatwa is like the Pope, who acts by the *holy spirit*, but is not the holy spirit himself. The Dalailama, who is always a Bodhisatwa, and the Pope, are both considered the vicars of God. Since the death of Buddha the world has been favoured with many Bodhisatwas, and the legends of them are not less dull or extravagant than the lives of the Saints of the Roman Catholic church.

(8). We have here nearly a whole Sanscrit line in the text, 弗利舍 she leih fe means Sarîraja, the

offspring of Sarîrinî; a lady who, as we read in the Chinese notes on this passage, was so called, because she was exceedingly beautiful. Sarîra (sarîrin adj.) means *body*, *matter*, and also a certain water-bird called *Tsew*. The father of Sarîraja was a Po lo mun, or Brahman, and called Te han lun sze. Lohla, लोल 羅睺羅 Lo-how-lo, is the son of Buddha himself, born from miraculous conception. Sarîraja and Lohla, like Mahâkâya and Ananda, are two of the first ten disciples of Shakia, who are so often mentioned in all Buddhistic works. The Chinese say that the name Lohla means *to take hold*, *to desire*, which is the real signification of the Sanscrit word; it is also an epithet of Lakshmî, the goddess of fortune. Lohla explained the doctrines of Buddha, and it is said that he divided the priesthood into different classes. The name of Lohla occurs as the last under the ten disciples of Buddha. There are, if I remember rightly, some remarkable passages regarding the composition of the Buddhistic Scriptures in the notes to the translation of the Mongolian historian Sätzan, by Schmidt.

FIRST LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT KILL ANY LIVING CREATURE.[1]

Commentary.[2]

No living creature shall be killed, whether it be of the higher class of beings, as a Buddha, a perfect man,[3] a teacher,[4] a priest,[5] or father and mother; or of the lower class of beings, as a grasshopper or the smallest insect: —in one word, whatever hath life thou shalt not kill. Whether now any man kill with his own hand, or command any other to kill, or whether he only see with pleasure the act of killing—all is equally forbidden by this law, and many other things which cannot be described one by one. It is related in the Scriptures[6] that Buddha, in the winter season, hid a louse in the hole of a tree, that he wrapped it up in silk and fed it with the best things, lest hunger and cold should destroy it; he filtered the water over and over again that he might not swallow an insect; so compassionate did he feel for every

being. If he took so much care concerning the smallest creatures, you can presume how he acted towards large ones! If a man thus walks in the ways of compassion, is it possible that he could hurt any thing intentionally? The Scripture says, therefore: "Thou shalt be kind and benevolent to every being, thou shalt spread peace in the world, and renovate it by the law; if it happens that thou seest any thing to be killed, thy soul shall be moved with pity and compassion. Ah, how watchful should we be on ourselves!"

NOTES.

(1). If we consider how lazy the ancient Greeks were in acquiring foreign languages, we shall be astonished at the general accuracy of their information, regarding "barbarians." Of the army of Alexander, only one person of consideration, as Arrian says, (Μόνος τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων μεταβαλὼν τὴν Μηδικὴν, καὶ φωνὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐκμαθὼν (Πευκέστης).—De Exped. Al.vi. 30.) learned the Persian language, and, perhaps, not one of the Greeks understood a word of the Indian languages or dialects, nevertheless they had very good information regarding the laws and customs of India. This law of some Indian priests or philosophers, as the Greeks call them, is

mentioned by many of the ancients, and was also the law of the Pythagorean school, which comes nearer than any of the other Grecian schools of philosophy, to an oriental priesthood. It is not to be wondered at that particular customs have often been taken as a general law. If Megasthenes says (Strabo xv. 1. p. 292, ed. Tauchnitz), that the Brahmans in general do not marry and do not eat of any living creature (ἀπεχομένους ἐμψύχων καὶ ἀφροδισίων), he is in the wrong;—only particular sects, as the Buddhists, follow these customs. That the Greeks give us no information at all about the Chinese, was certainly not their own fault. The barbarous seclusion of the Chinese from all foreigners, and their haughty manners, from the very beginning of their history, towards all surrounding nations, may easily account for it. We know from Chinese and from Greek authorities that the two empires once bordered on each other. Καὶ δὴ καὶ μεχρὶ Σηρῶν καὶ Φρυνῶν ἐξέτεινεν τὴν ἀρχὴν, Menander and Demetrius.—(Strabo xi. 11. p. 429.)

The Phrynes may have been one of the western tribes of the Heung noo, who in the flourishing times of the Greek empire in Bactria, acknowledged the supremacy of the Chinese. . See an extract from the Encyclopædia of *Too she*, which is the foundation of the Wen heen tung keaou. Tooshe lived under the Tang, and gives no later information than the year 756 of our era in this work; B. 340. p. 2. v. Of these Heung noo

speaks Euthydemus, king of Bactria, to Antiochus and says, that it is necessary to his own and to Antiochus' preservation to civilize these barbarians. Πλήθη γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγα παρεῖναι, τῶν Νομάδων, δι' ὧν κινδυνεύειν μὲν ἀμφοτέρους, ἐκβαρβαρωθήσεσθαι δὲ τὴν χώραν ὁμολογουμένους. Polyb. Hist. iii. p. 222, ed. Tauchn.

(2). In the original are always the words 日解 keæ yue, "the explanation says."

(3). 人聖 Shing jin, this is an expression borrowed from the school of Confucius. The Chinese Buddhists affect sometimes to use such expressions; there are even Buddhistic editions of the Ta hïo and the Chung yung, with copious explanations in their own sense. I have myself a copy of this great literary curiosity; two works of the sect of Confucius, with Buddhistic explanations.

(4). गुरु Guru. It is well known what respect every Hindoo entertains for his tutor (Abul Fazel, ii. 292); particular rules concerning behaviour to the tutor will be found in the second part of this work.

(5). 伽僧 Sankea, generally only the first syllable is written, *San*; it is the Sanscrit word सङ्घ Sanga, union. Another common Chinese denomination of a Buddhistic priest is 尚和 Ho shang. The following is the beginning of the Ming seang mun in the often

quoted Shaman's Breviary: "Fo to, Tama, Sangkea, that is Buddha, the religion, (Dharma) and the priesthood, the three excellencies. The word Sang implies all together, Sang tsze yun chung;" it is the accurate Sanscrit explanation as given by Hodgson. This is the Buddhistic triad, the "three excellencies," (which really are only one,) ingeniously explained by Hodgson in his letter to Colebrooke, by Schmidt and Rémusat. In the notes to the Breviary of the Shamans, p. 431, the word Ho shang is merely translated "a teacher of our doctrine." I cannot guess what Sanscrit word *Ho shang* may be.

(6). To give the proper sense of the terms of the Buddhistic doctrine, we are often compelled to make use of the sacred expressions of our own religion. Both Hyde and Prideaux did the same, regarding the religion of Zoroaster, and it is very remarkable that Gibbon seems to blame them for it!—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. viii. n. 17.

SECOND LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT STEAL.

Commentary.

THOU shalt not take any thing, be it gold or silver, a cloth, or an utensil, a needle or a plant; on all which is not given to you, you shall not lay your hand upon. Whether it belong to the monastery, or has only been given in trust; whether it belong to the priests, to the magistrates, the people, or to any person;(1) whether it be taken by force, by stealth, or by fraud;—all this, even to giving less or taking more than the exact public taxes, all this belongs to the act of stealing. It is stated in the Scripture that a Shaman took seven fruits belonging to the monastery, another some pastry belonging to the priests, and again another a little from a honeycomb, which belonged to the priests,—and they altogether fell into hell.(2) The Scripture moveth us therefore, rather to cut off the hand than to

take any thing which doth not belong to us. Ah, how watchful should we be over ourselves!

NOTES.

(1). In the comments on this passage, it is said, that the author means objects belonging to spirits and demons.

(2). 獄 yoh, or tih yoh, "the prison within the earth," Hell. The Buddhists in China entertain in the exterior doctrine the same views regarding hell, as the vulgar people in Europe. The whole world consists, according to them and the Brahmans, of seven different continents or islands (dwîpas), of which one is the habitation of the human race, the other six form the different degrees of hell.—Ayeen Akbery, ii. 311. This will be made clearer by many passages in the second part of this work. It is known that the Japanese received their civilisation from China, and there can be no doubt, that the Buddhistic missionaries were also Chinese. The Buddhists in Japan use either the Sanscrit words, as the Chinese corrupted and abbreviated them, or else the Chinese translations. For instance, they write *hell* with the two before quoted syllables, and pronounce them *T'sikoks*. —Medhurst's "English and Japanese Vocabulary," Batavia 1830, p. 49.

THIRD LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT BE LEWD.

Commentary.

IN the five laws of the laity [1] it is commanded not to nourish any illicit desire, and the ten laws of the priesthood forbid desires at all,—the least intercourse between one sex and the other is a breach of these laws. In libro *Ling yen king*[2] nominato traditur, virginem quandam vestalem, *Pao lëen hëāng* (*i. e.* speciosum lilium odoriferum[3]) dictam, secreto corpus suum polluturam, in animo suo dixisse: "corpus meum pol-" luendo neque neco, neque furor; itaque scelus " meum in populo non innotuerit;" quum vero semetipsam commovere inciperet, ad ignem vitiosum extinguendum, viventem ad inferos decidisse. If men of the world kill themselves and ruin their families by such desires, how could those who have left the world and belong to the church [4] transgress this law! This desire is the foundation both of life and death; wherefore the Scripture moveth us, saying,—though the connexion between man and wife is the source of Life,

Death is however the consequence if there be any thing impure in it. Ah, how watchful should we be over ourselves !

NOTES.

(1). These are the present five laws of our Catechism, and spoken of by Couplet in his preface to *Confucius, Sinarum Philosophus*, p. xxx. Quinque dari præcepta: primum ne rei viventi dematur vita; secundum, ut abstineatur furto: tertium flagitio et turpitudine: quartum mendacio: quintum vino. *Sic nimirum salutis nostræ hostis honesti rectique specie fraudes et insidias suas occultat.*—Buchanan in the As. Res. vi. 271.

(2). There exist different works under the same name, I have myself three different books or kings, called 嚴楞 Ling yen; they are all published under the Tang dynasty, and were translated out of the Sanscrit. लिङ्ग implies a sign or an emblem, by means of which any object is recognized, or made manifest. The Chinese Buddhists speak of six senses, which they call the six roots, seeing, hearing, smelling, speaking, feeling, thinking; these senses stay in the mind of men like guests, and it is wrong to make any use of these temporary companions, *Poo shen jung che.* (The Shaman's Breviary, p. 32 v.) The Lingaking is spoken of as a book which opens the door of the Nirvâna, teaches to despise the senses and to

have its attention only directed to one object. (Matuanlin, l. c. 14, v. 162.)

(3). This was the monastic name of the Bhagini, or sister; men and women change their name when they leave the world and go into a monastery. The Roman Catholics observe, as it is well known, the same custom.

(4). The reader may remember that church, kirk, kirche, église, &c. are only different corruptions of the Greek word *Ecclesia*, which implies the same meaning as Sanga, union or unity. A chronicler of the middle ages would probably have translated the words of our text, choo suh wei sang; by the following words: Relinquit sæculum et monachus factus est.

FOURTH LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT DO WRONG BY THY MOUTH.

Commentary.

THERE are four ways of doing wrong by speaking. *The first way is*, to lie, that means to state any thing which is not true; as if you say any thing is, which is not, or when you say any thing is not, which is; if you say you have seen any thing which you have not seen, or that you have not seen what you have seen:—in one word, to say any thing which really is not so.—*The second way is*, by idle and vain speaking; that is, to express yourself by embellished and affected words, or by luxurious passionate songs, producing impure desires, leading to sins, and bewildering the mind. *The third way*, by vulgar and coarse language; to speak ill of people in a direct or indirect manner. *The fourth way is* by duplicity, to speak in one way to one and otherwise to another; to speak differently to relations and friends, causing disorder by so doing; to praise people to their face, and to cavil against them

when they are gone; to say what is true if they are present, and the contrary behind their back; to accuse any man of a fault without being sure of it, or to hide his good qualities,—these are the ways to do wrong by the mouth.(1) Every body can, by governing his tongue, rise to the four steps and become a perfect man;(2) a fault of this nature is the greater because it spreads over the world.

There are exceptions where craft or deceit is permitted; if it is to prevent an enormous crime, if it is with an intention of pity and commiseration to renovate the world,—in these cases it is no crime.(3)

If people in former times considered the precept not to do wrong by the mouth, as a summary of all good behaviour, how much more should this be the rule of those who have been instructed and have *left the world!*(4)

It is related in the Scripture, that a young Shaman once ridiculed a little an old Bhaga, saying that in reading the Scripture, he barked like a dog. The old Bhaga, who happened to be an Arhan,(5) caused this young Shaman to

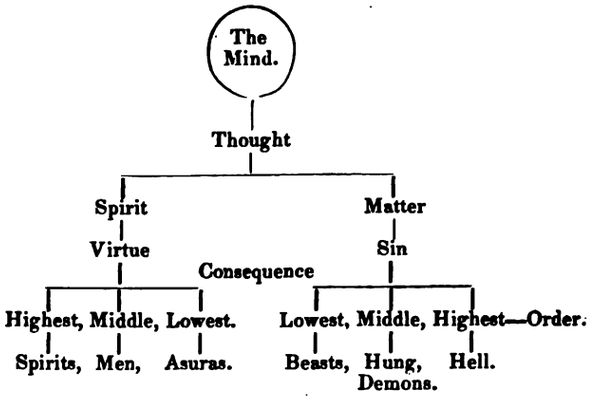
repent instantly, that he might not fall into hell and be transformed into a dog. Such were the enormous consequences of one wrong word! It is, therefore, said in the Scripture, that *people of the world* have a hatchet in their mouth by which they destroy their body. Ah, how watchful should we be over ourselves!

NOTES.

(1). The Bauddha of Nepaul said, that *pâpa* evil, (in Chinese *po po*,) is of ten kinds; first, murder; second, robbery; third, adultery; fourth, lying; fifth, secret-slander; sixth, reviling; seventh, reporting such words between two persons, as excite them to quarrels, and those last four *pâpas* are called *Vâchaka*, i. e. *derived from speech*.—Hodgson Sketch of Buddhism, p. 22.

(2). According to the ethics of the Chinese Buddhists there are four degrees or steps in ascending to become a perfect man; the names of these steps are Sanscrit, and are significative as *free from desire, self-observation*, etc. In our text only two are quoted, Shei to wan (Shrotâ-panna) and Sse to han; at this degree people have already overcome six out of the nine classes of desires. The Chinese transcriptions of the names of the four steps, may be seen in Matuanlin, l. c. 1 v. The Chinese style which the followers of Buddha employ, differs very

often, in words and in construction, from the style of the best Chinese authors; here, for instance, they do not use the common Chinese word for *steps* but 果 kô, which properly means *fruit*, and is perhaps only the first syllable of the Sanscrit word क्राम krama, a *step*, a *degree*, an *order* or *succession*. *Kô* is a word to which they are very partial, and they use it always in this signification. They divide all creatures into six kôs or orders; and this division affords an insight into the whole dogmatical system of their religion. I subjoin a figurative delineation of these orders taken out of a Buddhistic work :—



This table is taken out of the "*True Tables of the Religion*," a very useful work, which I have already quoted above—(See IV. 28 v.) It must of course be understood

in the sense of Metempsychosis. The place of the *hungry demons* corresponds to that of purgatory in the Roman Catholic church. The Asuras असुराः were the Gigantes of the Indian mythology; they made war against the gods, who were in need of Arjunas to conquer them. See an episode of the Mahabharata concerning the battle of Arjunas against these demons in the *Diluvium cum tribus aliis Maha-Bharati præstantissimis episodiis*, by F. Bopp, Berolini 1829, p. 85. Asuras is written in Chinese 阿修羅. Oh sew lo—so disfigured is the word in the "flowery language," which has no *a* and no *r*. The Japanese have the same word, and pronounce it Yu-oore-i.—Medhurst, p. 49.

(3). In the comments on this passage an instance is given to explain this Jesuitical maxim, how to withhold a sportsman by crafty and fraudulent words from killing an animal.

(4). The Chinese before and after the introduction of the Buddhistic doctrine. A Christian missionary would have said, "If your heathenish forefathers have done this, how much more should you who are enlightened by Christianity?"

(5). *Arhan* means the first rank in the priesthood; the word is derived from the Sanscrit root अर्ह् arh, *having worth*. It is written in Chinese O-lo-han, aud very often only lo-han. The Buddhists seem to have

translated the whole Sanscrit literature into Chinese, and I do not despair to find, sooner or later, the Mahabharata or the Ramayana in the "flowery language." The battle of Indra and the other Gods against the *Asuras*, and a symbolical explanation of it, are to be found in "The true Tables of the Religion," II. 16. It may be regretted that the Buddhists do not acknowledge the Vedas, and we cannot expect, therefore, that they should have translated them into any other language; they are only mentioned in the Chinese-Buddhistic works, with short bibliographical notices, as containing heretical doctrines. In the Shaman's Breviary, p. 33 r., it is said, that there exist *ninety-six* different heretical sects; "but it seems not advisable to speak of these false doctrines, *fei ching yin keae to.*"

THE FIFTH LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT DRINK STRONG LIQUORS.

Commentary.

THIS law commands us not to drink any intoxicating liquor. There are many sorts in the western frontier countries,(1) as liquors made of sugar-cane, of grapes, and of many other plants; in this country (China), it is the general custom to make a strong liquor from rice—of all these thou shalt not drink; with this exception, when thou art sick and nothing else can restore thy health, and then it must be known by all that thou drink strong liquors. If there be no reason for it, thou shalt not touch any liquor with thy lips; thou shalt not bring it to thy nose to smell at, nor shall thou sit in a tavern, or together with people who drink spirits.

Yu was very much grieved when E and Ho invented wine, and Chow ruined the empire in making pools of wine:(2) should then a priest not abstain from wine drinking?

There was once a certain Yew-po-han (Yogi?) who, by breaking this law violated also all others, and committed the thirty-six sins; you can see by this that it is no small sin to drink wine. There is a particular department in hell(3) filled with mire and dirt for the transgressors of this law, and they will be born again as stupid and mad people, wanting wisdom and intelligence. There are bewildering demons and maddening herbs, but spirits disorder the mind more than any poison. The Scripture moveth us, therefore, to drink melted copper sooner than to violate this law and drink spirits.(4) — Ah, how watchful should we be over ourselves!

NOTES.

(1). 域西 Se yu. The meaning of these words is very extensive, and changes from one century to another. All the countries within and without the north-west frontiers of China, and the northern part of Hindostan, are now comprehended under this denomination. In a Chinese work in eight books (of which Father Hyacinth translated some extracts) called *Memoirs on the Western Frontier Countries*, printed in the year 1778 of our era, twenty-nine different places and people are described, under which are comprehended *Hindostan*, *Kashemir*,

Russia, and the whole country, which in the Chinese geography is called " the new frontier," *i. e.* Hami, and little Bucharia. There is a place or a country called, سيو Siyu in the Tables of Abul Fazel, Ayeen Akbery, ii. 345.

(2). These are allusions to passages in the Shooking. Yu is the emperor of the dynasty Hia, and Chow the last dissipated prince of the dynasty *Yin* or Shang.—Gaubil Chooking, p. 42, 141, 142.

(3). The Buddhists divide hell—Narâka in Sanscrit—into eight departments, to which they give particular Sanscrit names. Their description of the various punishments in these various departments of terror and desolation are similar to those in the celebrated *Inferno* of Dante. A figurative delineation of hell is given in the " True Tables of the Religion," ii. 26 v. I have taken the word " wine" in the text for a beverage of every description. The old Greeks already knew something about this Indian custom; ἀφροδισίων χωρὶς καὶ οἴνου, says Strabo of some Indian priests or philosophers, (B. xv. vol. iii. 293, ed. Tauchnitz). The followers of Laotse drink wine, and these monks have in general a very easy Rule (Regula), in comparison with those of Buddha. The followers of Confucius say, that eating is good for the Yang and drinking is good for the Yn-principle. These men are desperate philosophers, that which is not Yang is Yn, and what is not Yn is Yang!

(4). Also the laity, men and women, shall observe these first five laws. See 沙門曰用 Sha mun jih jung (The Breviary of the Shaman, p. 18 v.) This is noticed in one of our former notes; but it has already been stated by Hodgson, that we must carefully separate Buddhism *as it is* and Buddhism *as it ought to be*, according to the Scriptures. Few Buddhists in China observe these five first laws.

THE SIXTH LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT PERFUME THE HAIR ON THE TOP OF THY HEAD, THOU SHALT NOT PAINT THY BODY.

Commentary.

IT is the custom in India to perfume the hair on the top of the head with flowers; they wind up their hair with flowers to give grace and dignity to the head. In this country they have also different coverings of the head, embroidered with gold and precious stones, with silk and cotton. The principal men in India also paint their bodies; they use the root of a celebrated

fragrant plant, they spread it over the inner garment near the body; these people also carry with them other incense and different sorts of cosmetics. How could a priest use such things? He, who according to the precepts of Buddha has only three coarse hempen cloths,(1) and out of compassion would not destroy any thing, how could he use the hairs of any animal, or the produce of any insect? Only an old man of seventy years of age with a bald head, who would feel cold, may use a cap, all others shall not.

Yu, (the founder of the dynasty of) Hea, wore a coarse cloth, and also Voote of the dynasty of Han; does it then become(2) feudal Kings (Reguli) or ministers, or, I will say, men of understanding, to covet ornaments, to look for incense and to adorn their bodily frame? There was in former times a Kaou sang (high priest),(3) who used one shoe latchet thirty years, how much more should common people do so!—Ah, how watchful should we be over ourselves!(4)

NOTES.

(1). All that concerns the vestments of the priests is explained in the second book.

(2). Han Voo (te), began to reign in the year 140 of our era.

(3). It is said in the notes, that this is a celebrated priest who lived under the Tang dynasty; being only sixteen years of age, he left his parents and went into a monastery.

(4). I have myself seen Buddhistic priests or monks walking during the greatest heat in the streets of Canton, without a covering on the head; the nuns have a cloth bound round the head.

THE SEVENTH LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT BEHOLD OR HEAR SONGS, PANTOMIMES, AND PLAYS, NOR SHALT THOU PERFORM THYSELF.

Commentary.

THE word 歌 ko, means every song sung by the human voice; the word 舞 woo, means the postures and shows made with the whole body; 妓倡 chang ke, means plays accompanied by different sorts of instru-

ments. You shall not do any thing like this, neither shall you go to hear or see other people performing. In former times there was one Sëen,[1] whose spirit was corrupted by listening to singing girls, by listening to sweet and melodious voices ; if such beings can be spoiled by seeing and hearing, how much should you take care of yourself!

There are stupid people in our times, who sing lewd and profligate songs to the Peipa and Naou,[2] would they not withdraw themselves from such music if the Chinese law (the doctrine of Confucius) could be universally regenerated by all the Buddhas![3] People who are educated for a Buddhistic monastery, who are taught to follow the law of Buddha and to administer at the altar, how could they do such things! Death and life, this is the difference between the laity and the priesthood; how were it possible that the clergy could forsake their sublime office and run after dissipated music!! Also the games of chess and dice, and other similar sports[4] of this description, carry the mind off from the right way, and plunge it into

faults and crimes. Ah, how watchful should we be over ourselves!

NOTES.

(1). The Sëens are considered supernatural beings, like angels and cherubims. The followers of Laotse use the word *Sëen* in the same signification as the Buddhists *Pousa* or Bodhisatwa. It has sometimes the signification of the Sanscrit *Muni*. *Seen* is written by a character compounded out of *man* and *mountain*, and answers, therefore, very well for *Muni*. This character is sometimes written Sëen (8939), *immortal;* "these are spirits who walk about in the shape of men, but do no die,—there are ten different classes of these spirits." "The True or Standard Tables of the Religion," B. i. p. 15, v.

The Eclectics, that is to say, those who think that the doctrine of Confucius, of Laotse and Shakia, is one and the same, make no distinction between Sëens and Pousas; they call Laotse a Pousa, and Buddha a Sëen. These Eclectics are very numerous in China, and it appears that the government, which is far from any fanaticism, considers it a matter of policy to incorporate the said three doctrines together so that there should not remain any difference of religion in the empire. There exists indeed only a small body of Mahometans

in China in comparison to the population at large, and not more than about 150,000 Christians. The Mahometan worship is permitted by law, but to become a Christian is now considered as high treason.

(2). The Peipa is an instrument very much like the guitar; it has only three strings. The Chinese class the different musical instruments after the number of their strings, as a three-stringed, a six-stringed, etc. The Naou (7909) is a kind of trumpet. They have peculiar musical notes, and songs and notes printed together to be sung in society. Their music sounds very bad to the ear of an European, as it wants both harmony and variety.

(3). Every body who intends to go into a monastery must have the permission of the civil authority, a regulation which cannot please the priesthood, as it is their desire to bring the whole empire under the Law of Buddha. (See some regulations concerning the priesthood, in Staunton's Penal Laws of China, p. 42, 83, 118.)

(4). The game of chess must have been very old in this part of the world, it is mentioned as early as in Mencius.

THE EIGHTH LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT SIT OR LYE ON A HIGH AND LARGE COUCH.

Commentary.

THE couch must be conformable to the rules of Buddha; the couch of him who reigns now over the world[1] was not higher than eight che :[2] surpassing this measure is a crime. Also, it is not becoming to use boards, which are varnished, adorned with flowers or finely carved, nor silken mats. In former times people used to sit down on grass, and in the night-time they lay under a tree; now that we have beds and chairs, they should not be made high and large to gratify the sensual feeling of the body.

Hëĕ-tsun the *honourable* perseverance, never sat on a mat.[3]

Kao fung sheao chen sse, The master of the high, sublime, and abstract contemplation, stayed three years, and never asked for a bed, or chair.

A priest in the monastery, Woo ta the sublime Understanding,(4) was destroyed by incense on his seat (which was only two cubits too high). If such a man was unfortunate, how were it possible that we should not be watchful over ourselves!

NOTES.

(1). 如來 jo lae, that is the Buddha for our age for this world, or Kalpa; these words, *jo lae* are a verbal translation of the Sanscrit *Tathâgata*. There are different Buddhas for the different ages; at the end of our Kalpa there will come another in great glory.

(2). A Che, or Tan-che, is the 19th part of a cubit, or Chŭh.

(3). It is said in the comments, that Hëĕ-tsun was a native of India, that his proper name was *Nan seng, i. e.* he who had been born with difficulty, or the Hard-born; that he remained sixty years in the womb of his mother, etc. There are reckoned *twenty-eight* Buddhistic patriarchs in India, and *two* or *three* in China. See the Shaman's Breviary under *Fo tsoo*, p. 31, v. The title of these patriarchs is *Tsun* or *Honourable*; Hëĕ-tsun was the ninth or the tenth patriarch. See the Notes

to this passage. The story of Nan seng is similar to that of Laotse.

(4). The life of these priests is given at large in the Chinese comments; it possesses no interest at all for the European reader. The Buddhists in China, in Thibet, and in Mongolia, have large collections of *Acta Sanctorum*, and the translator has some Chinese publications of this nature. One is called Leĭh chao kin kang che nëen ke. The reader may permit here a remark or two about the Life of Apollonius of Tyana of Philostratus. That work, though fictitious, is of that kind which we call historical novels. Philostratus seems in his work to have laid down all that he could learn about India, and there are certainly many interesting accounts. He says, for instance, " that the Brahmans sleep on the ground, which is first spread with grass, wherein they delight," etc.; but it is very difficult to sift history from fables. (Vita Apollonii, l. iii. 15.)

THE NINTH LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT EAT AFTER THE TIME.

Commentary.

AFTER the time means after *noon;* a priest shall not eat after this time. The heavenly spirits eat in the morning; the Buddhas at noon; the beasts after noon; the demons at night, — therefore it becomes the priesthood (Sanggha) to imitate Buddha, and not to eat after the noon.(1) The hungry devils in hell hear the rattling of the wooden roller (by which the monks are called to dinner) open their mouths, and fire is then shut into their throats; for this reason we should stop eating at noon, but still more so after that time.

In former times there was a high priest who secretly shed tears at seeing smoke go forth from a furnace in the dwelling of a neighbouring priest after noon;—so strongly felt he the transgression of the laws of Buddha. But our generation is weak, and subject to many diseases; they can-

not sustain the weight of this law, and require to eat many times in the day. For this reason our elders have permitted the priesthood to take a certain quantity of herbs in the evening to prevent sickness. Being thus subject to transgress the laws of Buddha, you shall feel shame and sorrow; you shall pray to the hungry miserable demons; you shall be penetrated by pity and compassion; you shall not have either a large or a good meal, nor shall your thoughts hang after meat, etc. If you do not act so your crimes will be greatly increased.—Ah, how watchful should we be over ourselves!

NOTE.

(1). The following table, out of the true Tables of the Religion B. iv. p. 21 v. gives all the different classes of beings, spoken of in Buddhism; they are ten: Buddhas; Bodhisatwas; followers of Buddha, who understand the doctrine (Yuen-keo); followers of Buddha, who live merely according to the doctrine, without understanding it (Shing-heen); heavenly spirits (Tëen-tao); men; asuras; beasts; hungry devils; sinners being in hell. I confess myself quite ignorant of the actual nature of these heavenly beings, or of what rank they may hold in the Buddhistic Theogony.

THE TENTH LAW.

THOU SHALT NOT HAVE IN THY PRIVATE POSSESSION EITHER A METAL FIGURE (AN IDOL), OR GOLD, OR SILVER, OR ANY VALUABLE THING.

Commentary.

THE word săng (8813) in our text means *metal*, and figure means a *likeness*, consequently a *metal likeness; gold* is a metal which has originally a yellow colour, and silver can be used in exchange, like the yellow metal. A valuable thing means one of the seven valuable objects.(1)

All avaricious and covetous men deviate from the right way, wherefore in the lifetime of Buddha all priests went a begging. They had no need to provide clothing or dwelling or make a fire. Buddha said that gold and silver are productions of the earth, of which you shall not make any use, and he who will hold fast on this precept, will attain perfect knowledge.

If it be so, can the followers of Confucius call

the disciples of Shakiamuni *beggars;* we who procure food and goods enough, and do not care for tools of husbandry nor for gold?

In our time it is not always possible to get food by begging, being abroad in the country, or being in a town, or travelling in a foreign territory; in all these cases it is permitted to be provided with silver and gold. Being thus in need to transgress knowingly the laws of Buddha, you shall feel shame and sorrow, and always have your mind directed to poverty.

If you are compelled to wander about, you shall not call at a public inn; you shall not heap up food; you shall not transact mercantile business, nor in general carry with you any precious cloth or thing of value. If you do not act so, your fault will be very much increased.—Ah, how watchful should we be over ourselves!

NOTE.

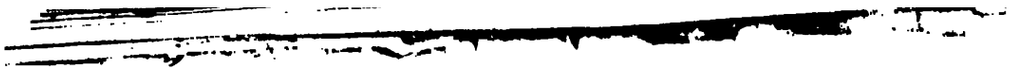
The translator takes the liberty to recommend to the reader, the perusal of the "Remarks on the Religious and Social Institutions of the Inhabitants of Bootan, by the late Sam. Davis, communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society by J. F. Davis," London, 1830. Those Remarks

may, in many respects, serve as a commentary on our present Catechism.

(1). The seven valuable objects are: gold, silver, pearls, the yŭh, &c. There are yet three other sorts of precious stones, mentioned in the notes.

BOOK SECOND.

THE REGULATIONS.



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

ACCORDING to the laws of the Buddhistic priesthood, any Shaman having completed twenty years of age, and being willing to receive all the remaining laws,[1] if he cannot answer all the questions which are put him concerning the duties of a Shaman, he will not receive the additional laws. Supposing now any body could be received without knowing the duties, the manners and customs of the priesthood, it would be difficult for the Shaman to find them out. It is necessary to be in the first place fully acquainted with these duties, in order that after having received the remaining laws you may easily walk in the way of Buddha, and easily perform that which becomes a Shaman; for this reason the examination begins with the laws.

In the following pages are the regulations regarding the manners and customs of the priest-

hood ; I have collected both the old and the new regulations, and brought them into this epitome that the young priest may easily understand them, and prepare himself to become a Bhaga. I found this mode of instruction very useful; for people whose minds are not wholly given up to the law, are lazy and wish to amuse themselves ;—they will retreat from a large volume, but will feel no objections against an epitome. Seeing that there exists nothing similar, I prepared this Second book, to fill up the deficiency, that every man, who will be perfectly enlightened, may find all ready prepared for him.

NOTE.

It was a very tedious task to translate these, for the most part, insipid regulations; but they show, more than any other work could do, the very soul of this monastic regimen. The learned reader may compare the valuable dissertation on the Religion and Literature of the Burmas in the sixth volume of the As. Res. p. 280 follow. In the eye of the philosopher, one husbandman is of greater value than the whole order of such people. What kind of virtue can that be which lives an idle and useless life upon the toil and sweat of the brows of the

other classes of the community, yet speaks of them, in spite of all this, with the greatest disrespect and contempt ?

(1). The Rule (Regula) of a Bhaga, or Bhikshu, spoken of in the Introductory Remarks to Book First Note 3. See the ceremony of Ordination, translated from the Burmese, in the As. Res. vi. 280.

Priest. Have you completed your twentieth year ?

Cand. My lord, I have completed it.

FIRST SECTION.

RESPECT TO BE PAID TO A CHIEF SHAMAN.(1)

You shall not call a chief Shaman by his name.(2)

You shall not watch secretly his words.

You shall not discourse concerning the faults of a chief Shaman.

You shall not remain sitting if you see a chief Shaman, except under the following five circumstances: when reading prayers, during sickness, shaving yourself, eating, or being occupied for the monastery.

The novices are consecrated after the fifth moon of the summer solstice, when they are elevated to the dignity of an *Achâr;* after the tenth moon of the summer solstice they are next elevated to the dignity of a *Ho shang*.

NOTES.

(1). A great or chief Shaman, who has received all the laws, Show kiu keae jin. See the Notes to this passage.

(2). That is to say, by his little name, his *Ming*.

(3). Shaman seems to be taken for *Priest* in general, and then again for a particular rank in the priesthood. The Chinese write the Sanscrit word *Achâr*, or Achârya, which has the signification of praying, etc., by the following characters, 阿闍黎 oh shay le, and say it means *master of the doctrine*, a person who is able to instruct the younger Shamans. The Achârs are again subdivided into five classes. (See Notes.) The two last syllables *shay le* are found written with different characters, as chay le (465, 6947). There are so many names of the different ranks of the priests, and the proper names being generally significative, that it is not always easy to say what is a title, and what the name of a particular rank. " The learned among the Persians and

Arabians," says Abul Fazel, " call the priests of the religion of Buddha, *Bukshee*, and in Thibet they are styled Lama."—Ayeen Akbery, ii. 434. The Bauddha of Nepaul says, that the first class of the priesthood is denominated Bhikshu ; the second Vajra Achârya. But, in the notes, Hodgson states, that the *superior* ministry of religion is now solely in the hands of the Bandyas, entitled, Vajra-Achârya in Sanscrit ; the *inferior* ministry, such Bhikshus are competent to discharge. (Sketch of Buddhism, p. 36.) It is very probable that the names and duties of the different ranks of the priesthood underwent a change from one century to another. Up to the present time, we know very little concerning the historical development of the doctrine and the institutions of Buddhism.

SECOND SECTION.

Duties towards a Teacher (Guru).

You must rise early,(1) and knock or call three times before you enter the room of your master. If you are corrected by a Ho shang or an Achâr, you shall not contradict him ; you must look upon a Ho shang and an Achâr like as on Buddha himself.

Like as you will not spit in a clean vessel, so you may not soil your heart by anger and vexation.

Regarding visits, it is to be observed, that, if your teacher or master sits in a contemplative meditation, you shall not pay him a visit.

If your master is about to go out, you shall not pay him a visit.

If your master eats, if he reads the Scriptures, washes his teeth, takes a bath, or is in any way occupied in his mind,—on all these occasions you shall not pay him a visit.

If the teacher shuts the door, you shall not stay outside till he goes out, and then pay your compliments,—but you shall knock three times, and if the door be not opened, go away.

If the master eats or drinks, you shall present him his food with both hands; having finished, you shall take the vessels away and place them in order.

Attending on your master, you shall not stay opposite to him, you shall not remain on a higher place, nor very far from him; it becomes you to speak with a low voice in the presence

of your master, yet so that it may be heard, and that his honour may not require any effort to understand you.

If you request your master to explain to you the origin and principles of the law of Buddha,(2) you shall visit him in your best apparel, join the palms of your hands and kneel down; if the master begins to speak you shall be absorbed in hearing and thinking.

If you go to your master, asking any thing for your household, it is not necessary to kneel down, you shall stand sideways towards your master, and explain to him clearly what is the nature of your demand.

If the master be tired either in body or in mind, and asks you to go out, you shall retire without showing either joy or disappointment.

If you have committed any fault, you must not hide it or fear an investigation; on the contrary, you shall instantly go to your master, confess it with shame and sorrow, and ask forgiveness. If the master forgive you your fault, your sorrow and shame shall fade away, you may then appear clear and bright.

If the master says anything which really is not so, you shall not contradict him.

You shall not seat yourself in the empty chair of your master, nor lie on his bed, nor dress yourself with his clothes.

If your master sends you to carry a letter, you shall not open it privately nor give it to any man to look into; having carried the letter to its destination, you shall ask if you have to stay for an answer? if not, take your leave in a civil manner, and return without delay to your master.

If your master remains with a visitor in what place soever, you may stay either sideways or behind him, you shall only use ear and eye to seek for what your master may be in need of.

If the master be sick, you shall ardently endeavour to provide him with all that may be necessary; you shall take care of his house and of his bedding, you shall provide medicine, congee, etc.

If your master dresses himself, you shall hold his shoes; if he goes to a bath, you shall prepare all that may be necessary for the bath, etc. etc.

There are yet many things comprehended under this rule, how a disciple should behave towards his master, but they cannot be enumerated one by one.

SUPPLEMENT.

Being with your master you must not dare to sit down without his permission; you must not dare to speak before he asks you, except if you are in need of any thing, then you may explain it.

Staying near him you shall not lean yourself against the wall; you shall stay at his side with an upright body.

If your master wishes not to receive your visit, you shall desist from it.

If the master is seated with a visitor, explaining the law, you shall watch attentively every word.

If the master commands any thing, you shall perform it instantly without unwillingness or disrespect.

You shall, in a word, never appear afflicted or sorrowful before your master.

If any body calls upon your master to pay him respects, you shall not give to your master either a higher or an inferior title.

Every younger brother (of the monastery) shall choose for himself an enlightened master, follow him a long time and not leave him early; but if the master be really not an enlightened man, it becomes you to separate from him and to walk for yourself the road of virtue. Having need to leave your master, you shall consider his shame, you shall not give liberty to any passionate feeling as laymen are accustomed to do.

You shall not ramble about at a market or at any place where people meet together.

You shall not stay in a temple of the followers of Confucius and Laotsze.(3)

You shall not go into people's houses, nor shall you stay near a monastery of Nuns.(4)

If you provide any thing for your master, you shall not make a profit by it as men of the world are accustomed to do,—all these are sinful transactions.

NOTES.

(1). According to the monastic rule the night is divided into three portions; the midnight watch being past, the young Shaman shall rise, etc.

(2). In the Chinese text are used the two words *Yin yuen*, which are the same as *Yew yuen* (Morrison, under the word 12559), and refer to those principles of the Metempsychosis, which form the fundamental feature of the Buddhistic religion. These words denote that state of existence hereafter, which is dependent on the conduct of an individual in a former life.

(3). How could a priest of Buddha see bloody sacrifices, or look to a worship performed with wine and meat! this is totally at variance with the true doctrine, and a follower of Buddha dare not approach towards such sacrifices. This reason is given in the Chinese comments; the words *Shin meaou* in the Chinese text mean the temples of the followers of Confucius and Laotsze, in opposition to the *Fo sze*, the temples or monasteries of Buddha.

(4). I do not know by what mistake these three regulations were placed here; they are again repeated under their respective sections.

THIRD SECTION.

On going out with the Master.

Without the master you shall not visit any man's house. You shall not walk or remain behind in a public place, where people meet to converse together.

You shall not look either to the right or to the left; you shall walk behind your master, with the head bowed to the earth.

Going out with the master and coming into a house, you shall stay near him till he asks you to sit down; and then you shall sit down.

Coming into the public hall of the monastery, when the master, or any other man, repeats his prayers to Buddha,—you shall not roam about or make any noise.

If the master ascends a mountain, you must carry with you something upon which he may sit, and you shall never remain far behind him.

If the master travels on the water, you must be near to support him; you must be grave and courageous whether it be deep or shallow water.

If you accompany him to a bath, you must have prepared the bathing-tub, the strings, and, in a word, all the things which your master may be in need of: all this is comprehended in this law, and could not be explained by many words.

SUPPLEMENT.

If, when walking about, you happen to come to a narrow passage, you shall lead the way.

If the master fasts, you shall be near him, and prepare all that he may be in need of; when fasting is over, you shall be near to him, and bring what is usual.(1)

NOTE.

The gurus, or tutors, are to be considered as spiritual guides, or Confessors. If there could be the least doubt that Buddhism is a reformed Hindoo doctrine, and that the whole basis of Brahmanism remains unshaken, it would immediately vanish by a close comparison of the Buddhistic catechism with the laws of Menu,—the greater part of the Laws and Regulations of the Shamans seem to be taken out of Menu. Regarding the behaviour to a tutor, see Institutes of Menu, ch. ii. 70, 71, et seq.

If there be no relations, the tutor is declared the lawful heir. (Ayeen Akbery, ii. 481.) The learned reader will be instructed and much amused by comparing the Regulations of Menu with those of Buddha.

SECTION FOURTH.

General Behaviour.

You shall not quarrel with any person about a seat.

You shall not hold a loud conversation with any body who sits far from you, or laugh with him.

People in general fail in good behaviour by overlooking their own faults, and promulgating their virtues; you shall not speak either about your fortunate occurrences, nor about your own merits.

Wherever you are, you shall not go to bed before other people, nor rise later.

If you wash yourself, you may not use too much water.

If you spit on the ground, you shall hold down your head, and take care not to spit on any man.

You shall not make a noise in clearing the nose. You shall not spit either in the public hall or in the turret,(1) neither in a clean room nor on the clean earth, or in clean water, but you shall go to a particular place.

You shall not present tea with one hand only.

Opposite to the turret, of a Ho shang or an Achâr, you shall not clean your teeth.

As soon as you hear the sound of the wooden bell,(2) you shall join the palms of your hands in prayer; hearing the sound of the bell, you shall remove all sorrow and trouble, your mind shall be directed only to wisdom to attain the knowledge of the law,(3) to be liberated from the earthly jail, and to leave the fiery pit. You shall wish that Buddha's doctrine may be spread over the whole world, Gan, Kea-lo-te-yay, So-ho.(4)

You shall not laugh either too much or too loud; and if you happen to yawn, you shall hold the sleeves of your garment on your mouth.

You shall not walk in haste, nor take the

lanterns of Buddha for your private use; you shall manage the top of the lantern in such a way, that no living creature, as insects or birds, may be hurt.

Nobody shall smell at the flowers taken out of the enclosure, and which are to be placed before Buddha, except those people who are appointed for it and arrange all new things; these men shall take care not to tread a leaf into the earth; they shall take every leaf from the way and carry it to a particular place.

If you are called, you shall not answer what you please, but your answer shall always have some relation to the prayers of Buddha.(a)

If you find any thing, you shall instantly communicate it to the managing priest.

SUPPLEMENT.

You shall not make friendship with a young pupil for the priesthood.

You shall not have more or less than three garments; if you happen to have more, you must give them away.

You shall not mend, clean or wash any thing in public waters, in order that you may not be laughed at by your acquaintance.

You shall not wear a garment whose colour is gone, nor ornamented clothes in the manner of the laity.

You shall not touch your clothes with dirty hands.

Going into the public hall you must bind up your habiliments or trowsers, and for your own comfort not be slovenly.

You shall not speak either too low or too loud.

You shall not sit and look on, if every body works; you shall entertain an aversion at being idle.

You shall not take any thing privately into your cell,(6) neither wood, flowers, vegetables, or any thing to eat, nor any utensil, or any thing else.

You shall not speak a word, either good or bad, regarding government, the magistrates or public officers. It is the custom of the laity to slander all parties, high and low.(7)

If you are called, you shall answer with two

words taken out of your creed; you shall not answer, " I," or, " The little priest."

You shall not greatly strive to bring to an end any thing which is of no consequence at all; if it is of consequence, you may do your utmost, but always in good temper. If you see that it is impossible to accomplish it, then say so, and leave it. To feel angry is not at all becoming a priest.

NOTES.

(1). Every temple has a turret, wherein the sacred reliques of Buddha himself, or of a Bodhisatwa, are inclosed.

(2). This is a wooden bell with clapper or hammer, by which the Monks are called to prayers; the Chinese word is Chung, 1718, M. The numbers, near a Chinese word, always refer the reader to the tonical part of Dr. Morrison's Dictionary.

(3). *Poote sang*, to attain a clear insight into the religion. The Bodhi, or Gnosis distinguishes the higher class of the followers of Buddha, who both live according to the law, and have a clear understanding of its principles.

(4). I must leave it to the scholar to search for the meaning of these Sanscrit words; I looked in vain to the comments on our passage, and to the other Chinese Buddhistic works, for a translation. The prayer which

is ordered to be said, when the Shaman hears the sound of the wooden bell, was in the following manner: "*I wish that the sound of this bell may glorify the religion, that all who shall hear it, may lay aside earthly desires, and be absorbed into abstraction; I wish that all living creatures may become perfectly enlightened, Gan, Kea-lo-te-yay-so-ho!*"—(the Shaman's Breviary, p. 22.) In the text of the Catechism is a stop after *yay*, and *so* is written with a different character (9488, the Shaman's Breviary gives the character 9489, with the radical 140 on the top). The Sanscrit words at the end of every prayer begin always with *Gan*, and finish with *So ho*; it may be that Gan is the Chinese transcript of the celebrated *Aum*.

(5). Two instances are given in the comments; it is said that the Shaman shall answer *Namo Fo*, or *Amida Fo*, Adoration to Buddha, Amida Buddha, &c.

(6). There are now many words in the Chinese language taken out of the Sanscrit, which are not easily recognized on first looking at them. I think it very probable that 提招 chao te, *cell*, is a Sanscrit word derived from the root छद् chhad, to cover, etc.

(7). That the people shall neither know, speak or think anything about government, is the wish of all despotic monarchies; ignorance is their best safeguard, and indeed only ignorance of their own rights causes men to submit to the unbounded will of others.

SECTION FIFTH.

Concerning the general Dinner.

As soon as notice is given by the wooden roller, you shall prepare yourself to come to dinner.(1)

You shall behave yourself decently at the prayers before and after dinner.(2)

The dinner of a priest consists in seven measures of rice mixed with flour, the tenth of a cubit of pastry, and nearly the same weight of bread ;(3) to eat more is cupidity, to eat less is parsimony ; to eat vegetables of any kind besides these dishes is not permitted.

The priest shall take the food in his left hand, pray, and say : " O ye bad and good spirits, I now offer you this, may this meat be spread out for all bad and good spirits into all the ten quarters of the world."

Every priest shall repeat five prayers before dinner.

1. For all good things which happened to him up to that day.

2. That he may go the way of virtue, and be far from all wickedness.
3. That his heart may be far from all sin of cupidity, or lust.
4. That he may use his meat only as medicine, to give strength to the body.
5. That he may take his meat only to be able to perfect himself in the doctrine.

You shall not speak about your dinner, be it good or bad.

You shall not eat any thing in private, or steal it like a dog.

You shall not speak a word when coming to or departing from dinner; you shall only salute with the hand.

You shall not scratch your head at dinner-time, and in breathing you shall take care of your neighbours.

You shall not speak having meat in your mouth.

You shall not laugh, or joke, or speak too loud.

You shall not smack in eating.

When cleaning your teeth, you shall hold something before your mouth.

If you happen to find an insect in your meat you shall hide it; you shall not show it to your neighbour and create doubt and uncertainty in his mind.(4)

When you have once taken a place, you shall not change it for another.

You shall not during dinner take any thing from the table.

You shall not be too slow nor too hasty at dinner.

If you come to dinner and it is not yet ready, you shall not show any impatience.

If you are in need of any thing, you shall not call for it with a loud voice, but silently point thereat and take it.

You shall not make any noise at table.

You shall not singly rise from table if you have finished your dinner.

Whosoever hears clearly the wooden roller, and does not attend, breaks the regulations of the priesthood, and forfeits his dinner.

If you find a whole grain in your rice, take off the skin and eat it.

You shall not try if the dishes taste well; this creates desires, and causes you to eat in an indecent manner.

You shall not eat alone that which has been served for all.

NOTES.

(1). The translator visited the Haechung monastery at Canton, when another European wished to try the effects of this wooden roller. The Chinese *ciceroni* however recommended the gentleman by all means to avoid it, lest it might bring all the priests of the monastery into the refectory.

(2). In my collection of Buddhist books are different breviaries, containing the prayers which a Shaman has to recite every day; there is not any occasion in which he has not to repeat some prayer,—certainly such men can do nothing else than pray!

(3). These matters connected with cookery are very difficult to translate. Gibbon somewhere remarks, that a Venetian pilot could correct Muratori, in reckoning the distance from Brundusium to Durazzo, and so probably a Chinese cook might easily correct me. It is likewise not an easy matter to reduce the Chinese weights to our standard.

(4). The belief in the doctrine of Metempsychosis is the reason of this, as of many other regulations. With the Greeks, Pherecydes, the master of Pythagoras, is looked upon as the first who had spoken of the transmigration of souls, a doctrine much inculcated by the Pythagoreans, his successors. The ingenious and learned author of the "Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer," thinks, p. 284, that Pherecydes received this doctrine from the Phœnicians.

SECTION SIXTH.

On Praying and Saluting.

You shall not go into the middle of the temple and pray; you shall place yourself on one of the seats.

If any person prays to Buddha, you shall not pass or come near him.

You shall clench your hand with the fingers down, one finger shall be like the other, so that no void space remains in the palm of your hand; nor shall you put a finger in your nose. Holding the head upright, you shall look towards the ground.

You shall not pray before the appointed time, even should you desire it; you shall stay until the proper moment.

You shall not pray to Buddha, together with your teacher; you shall place yourself behind him, at a little distance.

You shall not salute any person at the same time as your teacher.

In the presence of your teacher you shall not salute your equals nor receive their salutations.

When addressing any person, you shall not touch with your hand either the Scriptures or the Images.(1)

SUPPLEMENT.

At all times you shall come to prayers with a pure and clean heart, and with a mind absorbed in meditation. You shall observe at all times the seven rules concerning salutations.(2)

NOTE.

(1). The meaning attached in all European languages to the word *Image* gives a very inadequate idea of the dignity of the Chinese word *Seang*, a representative, or an image of the Godhead.

(2). Prayers to gods, and salutations to men, are expressed with the same term, 拜禮 le pae. The Chinese also call the Christian Sunday, and the week of seven days, Le pae. This weekly division of time, as is well known, never existed in China; because, as an ingenious divine observes, the Chinese left their work at the tower of Babel, and came to the middle empire before God taught Moses that a week consists of seven days. *The seven rules concerning salutations* are given at large in the Comments.

SECTION SEVENTH.

On going to Hear the Law.

As soon as the tablet is suspended in the great hall you shall go therein, and not stay till notice is given by the great mortar.

Holding your garments together in a decent manner, your mind shall be absorbed in meditation; you shall advance and gravely sit down. You shall neither speak nor yawn.

SUPPLEMENT.

As soon as you hear the sound which calls to hear the law, you shall cease all talk concerning the matters of this world, and only think on your moral perfection.

All that enters into your ear, shall not indiscriminately pass out of your mouth; you shall not say what should not be stated before the congregation.

The priests under age, who are not yet thoroughly acquainted with the precepts, shall not leave their studies and run before the proper time to hear the law expounded.

NOTE.

This whole section seems to indicate, that, in the Buddhist monasteries, public worship is sometimes accompanied by a sermon, or exhortation, and explanations of the laws or scriptures.

SECTION EIGHTH.

On Studying.

It is necessary to study first the Laws and then the Shaster,[1] you must not overstep the regular way.

Every book should be thoroughly understood and read to the end before you begin another.

You shall not cough over the Scriptures.

You shall not, in reading, take a cup of tea or any other refreshment.

Any man who reviews the Scriptures shall not undertake the task before he is duly prepared by moral conduct.

If a book be injured, it must speedily be restored.

It is not permitted to study profane books, as the philosophical or historical works, or the laws and regulations of government, before you have fulfilled the peculiar studies of the priesthood.[2]

SUPPLEMENT.

You shall not study when it is time to pray, or to go to the altar.(3)

You shall not study false and spurious works.(4)

You shall not study books on fortune-telling, on physiognomy, or medical or military works; you shall not meddle with books on prognostics, on astronomy, geography, or spells, as the *Furnace of Hwangpih*, and similar works concerning wonderful spirits and extraordinary demons.(5)

You shall not study the different explanations of the Scriptures.

You shall not study the books of foreign disciplines or religions, with any other view than for the wisdom they may contain. He who will gain a perfect knowledge of the deep and the shallow of the esoteric and exoteric doctrine, may again and again consider the ideas and instructions of him who is in Nirvâna.(6)

You shall not read poetical works and novels.

You shall not apply your mind to learn to

write characters, so as to become a writing-master; it is enough to know to write a book correctly.

You shall not take up a book with dirty hands.(7)

When you are studying the Scriptures, it is the same as if you would be in the presence of Buddha himself; you shall not then jest or laugh.

You shall not leave the book in disorder on the table.

You shall not read so loud as to disturb other people. You shall return a book which has been lent to you, and take every care not to damage it.(8)

NOTES.

(1). These monks are so tenacious with respect to the original idiom of Buddha, that they try to write words with Chinese characters, which can never be expressed, except very imperfectly in that language. Shaster is written, in Chinese, 羅多修 sew to lo, and in the Comments translated by King, which is again explained by King, 6367, *a path, a footpath,*

which means works that carry, or show the way to the Nirvâna.

(2). It is said in the comments on this passage, that the Shaman shall know all concerning his duties, before he gives himself up to the study of *foreign*, or profane books (Wae shoo). He shall know the ten laws and the twenty-four regulations of the Catechism, and also those Scriptures which contain the remaining laws—as the works called the *Forty-two Sentences* (See the Note at the end of our Translation), The Wei keaou, *The Instruction left behind*, or the Testament; The Fa hwa, or *The Splendour of the Law* (perhaps the well-known Hwa yen king is here called so); the *Linga* or *Ling yen king*, etc.

(3). In order thoroughly to understand every particular of these regulations, it would be necessary that the reader should have seen the interior economy of a Buddhist monastery. In the hall, where prayers are said, is a circular bench a little elevated from the ground, on which the priests kneel down and chant their Liturgy; this circular bench is called in Chinese chang, 324, and I translate the word by *altar*.

(4). There is a long list of such spurious books in the Chinese comments, as the *Kin kang swan*, the *Kin kang lun*, *Three Books of the Splendour of the Law*, etc. The Buddhists have also their Apocrypha.

(5). All these books belong to the Tao sect, the most

superstitious in China. It was very difficult to get copies of all their works,—they are only sold at the Tao monastery in the city of Canton, and they ask enormous prices for them: They say, "can a book be too expensive, by which you may command and govern the spirits in heaven and the devils in hell?" I have nevertheless the chief part of the works of this sect in about fifty volumes; the most interesting is a collection of all their books, belonging to both their esoteric and exoteric doctrine. Tao yen nuy wae tsuen shoo, *A collection of all the exoteric and esoteric works regarding Tao.* The first book in this collection is a small work, ascribed to *Hwang ching te*, who is the same with *Hwang pih* in our text; these are surnames of the Sëen or Emperor Hwang te.—See the learned extracts from the work of Lopi, by Prémare. Chouking, Discours Préliminaire, 74, 75, 130. The superstitions of the followers of Lao refer generally to alchemy, to conjurations of spirits and demons, etc.; the followers of Confucius prefer fortune-telling and astrology. The Yih-king is the foundation of the greater part of these latter superstitions; you see every where announced, in the streets of Canton, that in this or that place you may learn your fortune by a true explanation of the Kwas.

(6). I take the words *Woo sang* in the text for a denomination of Buddha,—*he who will never be born again.* In the Chinese comments we read a passage taken from

the great Saster (Ta king), wherein Buddha says, that after his being absorbed into the Nirvâna, there will arise stupid and wicked people who throw away *the twelve sorts of Sasters*, and run after various *profane, or heretical doctrines* (Wae Tao). The twelve kinds of Sasters, or Kings, are described in the Comments on the first law of the first book of our Catechism, as follows:—

The *first* is called Këe (5720) King, and may be considered as containing the excellent precepts and good explanations of all the other Kings.

The *second*, called Sung (9583), that is to say, works in praise of Buddha.

The *third* class is composed of historical works, containing the history of Buddha and his disciples.

The *fourth* is called Gâthâ, in Chinese *Kea to* (5358. 10253), containing praises and prayers to Buddha.

The *fifth* contains the doctrines of Buddha, which he delivered without being requested by any person: knowing the springs, or moving principles of all beings, he promulgated them voluntarily.

The *sixth* is composed out of such works as explain the course of nature, both by deducing effects from their natural causes, or by tracing causes to their ultimate consequences; this is the true meaning of *Yin yuen*, so often found in Chinese Buddhistic works. In this same class are also contained the explanations of Buddha concerning the law.

The *seventh* contains all which Buddha and the Bodhisatwas have either said or done in their former lives.

The *eighth* contains the narration of Buddha concerning those deeds which those of his followers, who live only according to the law, have done in their former lives.

The *ninth* gives the esoteric doctrine, concerning the Nirvâna.

The *tenth* contains whatever Buddha has spoken regarding those who are truly virtuous and who walk in the way of the law.

The *eleventh* contains parables; Buddha seeing that the greater part of mankind are stupid and cannot come to a right understanding of the law, wrote these parables, or *false stories* (Kea pe yu 5383, 8336), to illustrate his doctrine.

The *twelfth* class contains all such works as explain *Righteousness* (Lun e), and is written in dialogue. Buddha explains Righteousness by *abstraction*, or *meditation* (Chen, 817). Hodgson in the As. Res. xvi. 426. The division of the Buddhistic Scriptures in Nepaul is the same as that in China; but there seems to be some variance regarding the contents of the different classes.

(7). This precept is generally to be found on the title page of Buddhistic works: I observed it particularly on the legends of the Kwan yin Poosa. Among the various names of this goddess (Kao wang Kwan she yin

king, p. 9 v.), is that of *Aryâvalokitêswara: Namo yae loo tan na; Adoration to Vairochana; Namo O le yay pa lo ke te sho po loo yay, Poo te sa to po yay;* Adoration to Aryâvalokitêswara Bodhisatwa.

(8). These precepts regarding the studies of young priests are very reasonable. The Buddhists read the four books and the Shooking, and they have printed, as I have remarked, particular editions of these books with explanations in their own sense; it is the same case with the Tao te king of Laotsze. The Buddhists, as may be imagined, are declared enemies of the Yih and She king, and they do not acknowledge the authority of the three great collections of old laws and customs, which are known by the name of Le ke, Chow le, E le, the San, or three Le, as they are generally called. The Buddhists profess, on the contrary, to live after the customs and manners of India (Fan hing).

SECTION NINTH.

On entering the great Hall of the Monastery.

Whoever goes in through the door of the monastery shall not take the middle passage, but shall enter through one of the corners, either to the right or to the left, to whichever he happens to come first.

You shall not ascend the great hall[1] and walk therein, without a particular cause.

You shall not ascend the turret without necessity.

Going into the great hall or ascending the turret, you shall turn yourself to the right; you shall not turn to the left.

You shall not shed tears nor emit saliva, being in the great hall or in the turret.

Ascending the turret you shall count three, seven, ten, and a hundred steps of the winding stairs; you must know how many circuits you have made.[2]

You shall not strike with a stick, or any thing else, the walls of the great and wonderful hall.

NOTES.

(1). The hall in which the statutes of gods and spirits are placed. In the Tëen, or great hall at the Hae nan sze at Canton, are the greater part of the gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon. Tang (9850), is the name of the public hall where people meet together, Tëen (10141) the great hall of the gods.

(2). It is probably meant that the Shaman shall stop when he has made 3, 7, 10, and 100 steps; at three steps, he shall remember the three excellencies, etc. etc.

SECTION TENTH.

How to behave yourself on going to the Altar, or, being in your Cell.

Being on the altar, you shall not make any noise or wind with your garments; but when near the altar you shall begin to pray.

Going to bed you shall silently say your prayers, and from the morning till the evening be grave and serene, for lo! all men doing so, and governing themselves, will after the consumption of their bodily frame be born again in the blessed regions (1)

You shall not cry nor speak with a loud voice.

With one hand you shall lightly put away the screen, and keep it off by the other hand.

You shall not let your shoes hang down, so as to make any noise.

You shall not make a noise by laughing and tittering.

Being near the altar you shall not whisper

any thing regarding worldly affairs in your neighbour's ear.

If you meet a companion or a friend with whom you wish to converse, you shall not hold with him a long conversation in the public hall, but you shall walk together under the trees or near the water, and there speak together.

During prayer time you shall be of a straight body and a clean mind; you shall be silent and not make a noise. In the morning after the second stroke of the wooden bell, it is proper that you walk into the public hall.

Taking your seat you shall say your prayer with an upright position of the body; you shall not let your ideas wander about; you shall desire that all living creatures may arrive at the state of Bodhi, or knowledge, and that life may finally terminate.

SUPPLEMENT.

You shall not pass the principal entrance and walk in the public hall through a side-door.

Going to or coming from the altar you shall

walk slowly; being at the altar you shall not stop in praying.

You shall not write characters on the altar except in the hours of general instruction.

You shall not assemble near the altar to drink tea, to sit up together in the night or to hold conversations.

You shall not mend your clothes on the altar; you shall not lie down near the altar either to repose yourself or to converse together.

NOTE.

(1). 土淨 Tsing too, the clear blessed country in the west; these are the *Hesperides'* gardens, and the Paradise of the Hindu mythology. The description of these blessed countries is very phantastical. The following is a passage out of the Remarks of Mr Davis:—" The Buddhistic system of the universe consists of, first, the celestial regions, described as situated on the summit of a square rock of immense magnitude and height, its sides severally composed of crystal, ruby, sapphire and emerald. Here dwells the Supreme Being (Sâmbhû), in a habitation to which good men after death have admission, and find clothes, provisions, and every thing they want and wish prepared for their reception. About half way

down is the region of the sun and moon, placed on opposite sides of the rock, and constantly revolving round it, for the purpose of giving day and night to the lower world. Beneath is the ocean, surrounding the whole, with seven stripes of dry land encompassing the foot of the rock, and some islands the residence of mankind. The infernal regions are under the earth," etc. The translator possesses a copious description of the Paradise under the title, " Five Books of the Pure Country." The various stories told by the Greeks of the gardens of the *Hesperides* are generally known; in later times the Canaries have been considered to be these *Fortunate Islands.* It is rather remarkable that Plutarch, after having given an interesting account of these blessed regions, adds, " that it is generally believed, *even among the barbarians*, that these are the Elysian Fields, and the seats of the blessed."—Plutarch in Sertorio.

SECTION ELEVENTH.

On Transacting Business.

You shall be economical in all that belongs to the priesthood.

If any body wishes to learn any thing you know, you shall teach him and not withdraw yourself.

Before you boil the vegetables in the pot, you shall clean them three times with water.

Before you draw water you shall clean your hands, and before you drink you must look if there be an insect in the water or not; if you see one, you shall first strain the water and then drink it. In the winter season you shall not strain the water early in the morning, but you shall stay till the sun has made his appearance.

Boiling any thing, you shall not use dry wood.(1)

You shall not take any meat with dirty nails.

You shall not pour out dirty water on a highway, nor with high uplifted hands, but you

shall go a little out of the way and pour it out slowly.

You shall not sweep the ground against the wind, nor shall you lay the sweepings before the door.

Before washing your shirt you must pick out the lice, and then wash it.

In the summer months you must look carefully into the basin before using the water, because at this time of the year many insects grow in the water.

You shall not cook on the bare earth.

In general, whatever you may have, whether rice, vegetables, or fruits, you shall not lightly spend it or throw it away, but use it carefully and with economy.

NOTE.

(1). In dry wood, say the Chinese comments, there may be some insects. It may truly be said of the followers of Shakia, that they take less care of men than of beasts and reptiles.

SECTION TWELFTH.

On Bathing.

If you go into a bath, you shall wash yourself orderly, beginning from the higher parts of the body and descending to the lower.

You shall not play or splash in the water so as to wet the people who come near you; you shall not make water in the bathing-room.

Being in the bath, you shall not speak or laugh with any one. In *The precious mirror of Heaven and Man*, it is reported that a priest who did wantonly laugh and joke in the bath, was instantly punished by falling into hot water into hell.

You shall not in bathing change your place.

If any person has an ulcer on his body he shall bathe the last, for it is to be feared that he may infect others; if it be very disgusting he shall bathe afar off.

You shall not remain too long in the water for your own pleasure, and so hinder others from washing themselves.

SUPPLEMENT.

You shall mark carefully the clothes which belong to you before you go into the water.

You shall walk a little before you go into the bath, and not lay yourself in the bathing-tub before all is prepared.

If the water is hot, you shall let it slowly into the tub; you shall not pour it in too quickly.

SECTION THIRTEENTH.

This article relates to personal necessities; but it is too disgusting, and incompatible with our manners to translate it. The curious and inquisitive reader may read the regulations on this head in the Ayeen Akbery, ii. 483. The Shâman has to behave himself in this respect as in many others like the Brahmachâry. The Brahmachâry goes and begs his food; he never speaks during meals; he abstains from flesh, honey, beetle, and perfumes; he shaves his head; he never goes where there is singing, dancing, or gaming; he never kills any animal, and he holds no commerce with women; he abstains from lying, anger, avarice, and envy; he is forbidden to speak ill of any one, even although he may deserve it. Ayeen Akbery, ii. 485.

SECTION FOURTEENTH.

On Sleeping.

Lying on the right side gives a prosperous sleep; you shall not turn round in the night and rest on the left.(1)

You shall not lie in the same room or on the same couch with your teacher; there may be occasions when you should sleep in the same room, but never on the same couch.

You shall not lie together on the general couch, with the managing priest.

You shall not hang up your clothes in such a manner that they can hurt any person's head.

SUPPLEMENT.

You shall not sleep with your under garments on.

Being in bed, you shall not laugh nor speak aloud.

You shall not void water opposite to any representations of the saints, or to the hall where the law is explained.

NOTE.

(1). The posture in which the priests in Bootan must sleep is yet worse. (See the Remarks of Mr. Davis, p. 7.)

SECTION FIFTEENTH.

On Sitting by the Fireside.

You shall not place your heads together, nor speak in the ear of each other.

You shall not cast dirt or fat into the fire.

You shall not dry your shoes or stockings, nor shall you sit too long at the fire, so as to be in the way of others who come after you. Withdraw yourself a little, and then you may come near again.

SECTION SIXTEENTH.

On Behaviour in the Sleeping Room.

If the watch, which makes the round in the night asks you any thing, you shall give on all things a satisfactory answer.(1)

If you are in need of a lamp longer than the fixed time, you shall make it known to the people who are in the same room, and say, *I am in need of the light.* If you will put out the light, you shall enquire if any person be in need of it, or not.

You shall not blow out the light, nor say your prayers with a loud voice.

If any body is sick you shall attend him, out of compassion.

If people sleep, you shall not make a noise with hammering, nor speak nor laugh with a loud voice.

You shall not leave your sleeping room in the night without a particular reason.

NOTE.

(1). " A watch goes regularly round with a light and a scourge to see that they are all in their places, and to discipline such as are out of the proper posture." (Davis, Remarks on the Inhabitants of Bootan, p. 7.)

SECTION EIGHTEENTH.

On being in a House of the Laity.

If there is a separate seat in the house, you may sit down, but you shall not sit between others.(1)

If people ask you about the Scripture, you must consider what is fit to be said or not to be said(2) in this or that place, this or that time.

You must not laugh very frequently.

If the master of the house offers you meat you shall take it, although he belongs not to the Church; you may not act against the manners of good-breeding.

You shall not transgress the law by going out in the night.

You shall not go into a room, in which no person is present; you shall not sit behind a screen; you shall neither sit with nor speak to a woman.

You shall not read a book with a woman, or

borrow any thing from her, &c. See the former instructions regarding the behaviour to Nuns.

If you go into town to see any of your acquaintance or your parents, you shall, on entering the house, go to the hall and make your adoration to Buddha or to the representatives of Saints. You shall then place yourself in a straight posture and inquire gravely after the health of every person, beginning with your father and mother.(3)

You shall not speak to your father about your teacher, about the law, or your monastic rule;(4) a priest should always look grave and silent when there is any reference made to these matters; you may speak of the religion of Buddha, and that those who believe in him will be happy.

You shall not stay or sit a long time near a child belonging to the laity; you shall scarcely jest or laugh with him; neither shall you ask one of the kindred, if the child be good or bad.

If you happen to stay a night in a tavern, you shall lie down alone on a couch; you shall

sit much, sleep little, and with your whole heart think on Buddha, Your business done, you shall not delay coming back to the monastery.

SUPPLEMENT.

You shall not look upon depraved people either on the right or on the left; you shall not speak in a soft strain, as is the custom in speaking with women; you shall not speak with a low voice or in private; you shall not speak much.

You shall take very great care not to play the hypocrite by dissembling an air of gravity and spirituality.

You shall take especial care not to speak wrong concerning the religion of Buddha, or to answer confusedly, if any body asks you about it. You shall not talk much to give yourself an air of importance.

You shall not make use of the complimentary drinking at table as laymen are accustomed to do.(5)

You shall not presume to enter or go into the house of a magistrate.

You shall not sit down between others in a tavern.

You shall not visit at the same time other laymen, when you go out to see father and mother, brothers and sisters, and aunts.

You shall not speak about the faults of the priesthood.

NOTES.

(1). The priesthood divides all the believers in Buddha into five classes, for whom there are different places and different rewards after their death. The lowest of these classes is that of the laity, who hears only on "the law," without knowing or understanding its principles. See the former note, p. 77.

(2). Some interesting prudential Regulations are to be found in the Comments on this passage. If any man puts a question merely to have a laugh, or to create difficulties, the Shaman is ordered not to give any answer. This is a portion of the pastoral Theology of the Buddhistic clergy.

(3). Varo says truly, that the Chinese always play comedy one with another, "anden siempre como en comedias," Arte etc. p. 91. *Cause no disturbance and be polite*, is the law of every despotic government.

(4). This is certainly the best name for these laws

and regulations; they so much resemble the monastic rules (Regula monastica) of the middle ages, that one might be supposed to be copied from the other. Change the name of Buddha into a Saint, and you have friars.

(5). The Chinese drink to each other at table, in the same manner as is the custom in England and Germany. The Translator was at table where Chinese made the "nail proof," like the most hearty drinkers at a German university.

SECTION NINETEENTH.

On going Begging.

You shall go about with an old priest, experienced in the law; if nobody accompanies you, you must say to what place you go.

If you come before the door of a house, you shall be very careful not to transgress the rules of good behaviour.

You shall go into no house in which there is no male member of the family.

If you sit down, you shall closely look about, if there be any knife or weapon, if there be any thing of great value, or a woman's apparel—in all these cases you shall not sit down.

If you say prayers, look what may suit to time and circumstances.

You shall not say people will be blessed because they give you food.

SUPPLEMENT.

You shall not beg in a piteous and lamentable manner, nor shall you talk too much about the

heavenly objects, for fear of making them profane.

You shall not show particular satisfaction if you obtain much, nor shall you show vexation if you get little.

You shall turn yourself respectfully to the master of the house, and with thankful feelings bring the food to the monastery.

SECTION TWENTIETH.

On going out of the Monastery.

You shall never go out, unless it is quite necessary.

You shall not run if you take a walk.

You shall not thrust out your hands in walking.

You shall not lounge about, looking after other people, after this and that object.

No Shaman shall in walking about speak or laugh with a young child.

You shall not walk in a straight line with a woman, whether she be before or behind you, nor with a Nun.

You shall not go in a straight line with drunken and foolish people.

You shall not see behind you, nor ogle with the corner of your eye to look on a woman.

If you meet with a member of your family or with a friend, you shall stay and ask to speak with him.

If you meet actors, who perform a play, a pantomime, or other pastimes, you shall not look at them, but go straight on your way with an upright body.

If you meet a pool or any other water you shall not walk through it, if there be another road by which you can go; if there is none, you may walk through.

You shall never go on horseback if you are not sick or in haste; and even then you shall not whip the horse that it may run to give you pleasure.

SUPPLEMENT.

If you meet any public officer, you shall not stay and speak with him, but turn on another road.

If you meet people who quarrel together, you shall withdraw yourself and not stay to look at them.

Returning to the monastery, you shall not relate wonders of all the beautiful things you have seen abroad.

SECTION TWENTY-FIRST.

On Purchasing Any-thing.

You shall not bargain or cavil, but say at once the price you will give for any article.

You shall not sit down in the shop of a woman.

If any man asks too much, you shall instantly go your way, and not stay to endeavour to beat him down.

If you have made a purchase, and you find afterwards that the thing is not worth the price, you shall nevertheless not relinquish it, but pay your money and be angry with yourself.(1)

You must be careful and not easily trust, or lend any thing to bad debtors.(2)

NOTES.

(1). Deception and fraud are in China considered as a proof of genius and understanding; even the heroes of their Novels and Comedies are often only a crafty, lying sort of people. Montesquieu is in the right, when he says (Esprit des Lois, xix. 21): "A la Chine, il est permis de tromper;" but not in the sense he would understand

it. Fraud is not disgraceful in the public opinion, though there are laws against it as in every other country; in particular against false weights measures and scales: (Staunton, Penal Laws, p. 165), which Montesquieu brings as an argument for his opinion out of the Journal of Lange. China is a country where fixed laws and a regular government are more ancient than in any other part of the world; consequently, where violence is forbidden, human nature will incline to fraud and deception. This is one of the most common vices connected with civilization. "The most prudent Chinese," says Timkowsky, "when they go to make purchases, take their own scales with them." (Travels through Mongolia to China, ii. 193, Engl. transl.)

(2). It is often observed in the Chinese commentary, that the author of the Catechism gives precepts regarding the customs of Fan, or India, and this may particularly be the case in this 21st section; for by the laws of the Brahmans, "the buyer may return his purchase on the day he bought it, without any consideration," &c. (Ayeen Akbery, ii. 474); such a law could never be conceived among a mercantile people, like the Chinese.

SECTION TWENTY-SECOND.

NOT TO DO ANY-THING WITHOUT PERMISSION.

You shall not go out without asking your master.

Before you provide a new monastic dress, you shall ask your master's permission; and before you put on your new dress, you shall mention it to him.

Before you shave your head, you shall ask your master.

Before you take any medicine, you shall ask leave of your master.

Before you transact any business, regarding the whole community (Chung sang), you shall ask your master.

Before you take any thing for your own private use, you shall ask leave of the master.

Before you read the Scriptures, you shall ask the master.

Before you receive or give away any thing, you shall ask the master.

Before you take or receive a loan, you shall ask the master.

In all these cases—if the master gives permission, you shall do it; if not, you shall leave it without repining.

SUPPLEMENT.

EVERY important matter you may see or hear when walking about, whether it concern the monastery or not, you shall state it to your master. You shall not keep it to yourself.

NOTE.

The learned reader will often have remarked the similarity between some of these regulations and the *Monita Secreta Soc. Jesu*;—implicit obedience is the soul of every monastic order.

SECTION TWENTY-THIRD.

On Travelling.

With regard to travelling for visiting a friend who lives far distant, our forefathers formed different opinions;—but this is certain, you should not ask the master for a permission if your friends or parents live farther off than a thousand le.[1]

SUPPLEMENT.

A young man, who is not yet thoroughly acquainted with the law, seldom receives permission from the master to walk afar off; but if he receive any, it is not without a friend, who accompanies him.

You shall ask your way from the master; and what you may expect to meet with on the road; then go your way, and do not gaze on mountains and rivers for your pleasure.[2]

When you are arrived at the place of your destination, you shall walk to your room, and, before you make any visit, place in some order your

travelling commodities; if any person comes to see you, you may receive and speak with him, and till he is gone desist from your private arrangements.

NOTES.

(1). A *le* usually contains 1,800 Chinese feet; about 3½ *le* make an English mile. But the Les have varied under different dynasties; and even now there are different Les in different parts of the empire.

(2). The rules for Monks and Saints are every where the same. St. Bernard saw not the Lake of Lausanne passing by; and Gibbon, relating this marvellous example of pious apathy, says (ch. 59, n. 30), "To admire or despise St Bernard as he ought, the reader, like myself, should have before the windows of his library, the beauties of that incomparable landscape."

SECTION TWENTY-FOURTH.

I THOUGHT it not proper to translate this last Section of the Regulations, as it belongs chiefly to lexicography. The Chinese author gives the names of the various monastic vestments, and of some other articles and proceedings connected with the Buddhistic worship, both in the Sanscrit and with a Chinese translation. He explains the various plaits and seams peculiar to the various ranks of the priesthood, and he directs what particular dress is to be worn transacting this or that ceremony. It is clearly impossible to translate this article correctly, without the help of a Chinese monastic tailor; how could you give in words an idea of the peculiar shape and form of the dresses of the Buddhistic priesthood? I can only add, that when performing the ceremonies on a holy day, they are dressed similar to the Roman Catholic priests.

NOTE.

The foregoing Catechism, of which I have offered a Translation to the indulgence of the English reader, contains particularly the practical part of the doctrine of Shakia,—the Ethics of Buddhism. There exists another work, which may be considered as containing the Dogmatics, or Metaphysics. The latter work has been often printed, and is to be found in many Buddhist Miscellanies; it is called, 四十二章經 Fo shwŏ se she url chang, *Forty-two Sûtras, or brief Aphorisms of Buddha,* and was the first book translated from the Sanscrit into the Chinese. These forty-two *dicta* are considered to contain the whole doctrine of "the Honourable of the world," —the spirit of the Scriptures and the Laws. Buddha, I apprehend, spoke not one of these apophthegms; it seems rather to be a *pious fraud* of one of his disciples. Frauds of this kind have been practised by the followers of every religion. To sift the authentic Scriptures from the Apocrypha, is the most essential, and, in reality, the the most difficult task in a critical history of all religions.

Buddha, so begin the Sûtras or Aphorisms of Shakia's Doctrine, having arrived at the height of his mission,

having finished his doctrine, and vanquished all his enemies, sat, in deep silence, and absorbed in meditation. His disciples surrounded him, he resolved their doubts, answered their questions, and instructed them in the law. Shakia begins with an explanation of the duties, the virtues, the different rank and the gifts of the priesthood; he discusses the ten virtues and the ten vices of the body and soul, the nature of good and wicked people, together with the "*cause of causes*," or the "*cause of all effects*." The manner is something like the Socratic Dialogues of Xenophon, and the Discourses (Lun yu) of Confucius; but the reader must here, as it is often the case in metaphysical discussions, be satisfied with a mere struggle, or play upon words. A portion of one Sûtra (the seventeenth of the work) will be sufficient for a specimen of this more than Neo-platonical Idealism; the admirers of Plotinus will relish very much these sayings of Shakia:—

"Buddha says, my religion or law consists in thinking the inconceivable thought; my religion consists in going the impassable way; my religion consists in speaking the ineffable word; my religion consists in practising the impracticable practice."

The forty-two Sûtras of Buddha were translated from the Sanscrit into Chinese, by the Shamans Kea ye mo tang and Choo fa lan. The celebrated Chuhe or Chufootsze says, that in this work the doctrine of Buddha

is explained in easy intelligible language; but that, generally speaking, it contains only the (idle and fruitless) speculations of Laotsze and Chwangtsze. (See the Extract of Chuhe, in the Encyclopædia of Matuanlin, B. 226, 9 r.)

THE END.

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ERRATA

In the Catechism of the Shamans.

Page 40 line 8, *read* " Pradjna-king."
— 74 note 2, *read* " 190th part."
— 101 line 4, *read* " who."
— 113 — 2, *read* " Saster."
— 150 — 8, the Chinese character *Fo* should be upright on the line, and top-point of *Chang* (line 9) in the middle of the character.

VAHRAM'S

CHRONICLE

OF THE

ARMENIAN KINGDOM IN CILICIA.

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CHRONICLE

OF

THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM IN CILICIA,

DURING THE

TIME OF THE CRUSADES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ARMENIAN,

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

CHARLES FRIED. NEUMANN.

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TO

PROFESSOR WILKEN,

AUTHOR OF

"THE HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES,"

AND

LIBRARIAN TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF PRUSSIA,

THIS VOLUME

IS DEDICATED,

WITH PROFOUND RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

PREFACE.

THE greatest defect of the following Chronicle is its brevity. VAHRAM, of whose life little more is known than that he was a native of Edessa, a priest, and the secretary of king Leon III., exhibits almost all the faults of the common Chroniclers of the Middle Ages. He relates many barren facts, without stating the circumstances with which they were connected, and he mistakes every where the passions of men for the finger of God. The compilers of chronicles were in those ages ignorant of the true end, and unacquainted with the proper objects

of history. But with all its defects, the chronicle of the Armenian kings of Cilicia, written by a contemporary writer, is valuable. The friend of history may now be enabled to form an estimate of the origin and the increase of an empire, which for want of materials has been overlooked by the most learned and acute historians. Gibbon, of whom it is doubtful whether we should most admire his genius or his erudition, in his celebrated work simply mentions the *name* of Cilicia, a kingdom, which carried on successful wars against the emperors of Constantinople; and which, from the beginning of the Crusades remained the friend and ally of the Franks, and to whom belonged a part of the sea-coast, that continued from the time of Ezekiel the theatre of the commerce of the world. The Venetians and Genoese were so impressed with the importance of Cilicia, that they made several commercial treaties with the Armenian kings;

the Armenian original of one of these agreements, together with a translation and notes, has been printed by the learned orientalist, Saint-Martin.

The Crusaders were astonished to find within the frontiers of the Byzantine empire a powerful prince and ally of whom they had never before heard mention. Nicetas betrays a want of historical knowledge and research, in saying that the Armenians and Germans were united together, because they both disliked holy images.* The Germans and a great part of the Armenians, on the contrary, felt no aversion to the worship of images, but the latter, ever since the first division of the Arsacidian kingdom of Armenia between the Sassanides and the Greeks, in the year three hundred and eighty-seven,

* Nicetas II. p. 148. I wonder that Montesquieu, in making use of this passage of Nicetas (Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, ch. xxii.), has not been struck with its incorrectness; it did not escape the critical discernment of Gibbon: the Decline and Fall, etc. ch. 49. n. 17.

had been in perpetual warfare with the Byzantine empire; and this warfare caused a degree of animosity between the two people (Greeks and Armenians), of which traces may be seen even at the present time.

By the unjust and cruel division of the kingdom of Armenia, the largest and most fertile part of the country fell (as the contemporary historian Lazar of Barb observes) to the empire of Persia. The Byzantine emperors and the Sassanian princes for a while permitted native kings to hold a precarious sceptre; but they were speedily dismissed; and the Byzantine part of Armenia was governed by a Greek magistrate, and the Persian by a Marsban or Margrave. This state of the country, somewhat similar to that of the Maronites in our times, was on a sudden changed by the conquests of the Arabs; but the Armenians would not accept the Koran, and their condition became worse under

the zealous and fanatical followers of the prophet of Mecca than under the descendants of Sapor the Great, while weak and dismayed by civil wars.

Ashod the Bagratide, an Armenian nobleman of a Jewish family, who had fled to Armenia after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadanozor, at last gained the confidence of his Arabian masters; and in the year eight hundred and fifty-nine was appointed Emir al Omra, Ishkhan Ishkhanaz (prince of princes),—as the native historians translate the Arabian title—over all Armenia: and was soon after it (888) favoured with a tributary crown. The Bagratides and the rival kings of the family of the Arzerounians, were the faithful friends (or slaves) of the Arabs, and often suffered from the inroads and devastations of the Greeks. We learn from Vahram the means through which the Bagratian kingdom in Armenia Proper was extinguished; and that a new

Armenian kingdom arose on the craggy rocks of Mount Taurus, and which gradually extended its boundaries to the sea-coast, including the whole province of Cilicia. Vahram carries his monotonous historical rhymes no farther down than the time of the death of his sovereign, Leon III. (1289); but the Cilicio-Armenian kingdom, which during the whole time of its existence perhaps never was entirely independent, lasted nearly a hundred years longer. Leon, the sixth of that name and the last Armenian king of Cilicia, was in 1375 taken a prisoner by the Mamalukes of Egypt, and after a long captivity (1382) released by the generous interference of King John I. of Castille. He was not however permitted to return to his own country; but wandered through Europe from one country to another till his death, which happened at Paris, the 19th of November 1393. He was buried in the monastery of the Celestines.

The Mamalukes did not long remain masters both of Cilicia and of a part of Armenia Proper; but yielded to the fortune and the strength of the descendants of Osman or Othman: when the Armenians again felt, as in former times, all the disasters to which the frontier provinces between two rival empires are usually exposed. The cruel policy of the Sophies transplanted thousands of Christian families to the distant provinces of Persia, and transformed fertile provinces into artificial deserts. The Armenians therefore, like the Jews, were obliged to disperse themselves over the world, and resort to commerce for the necessaries of life. Armenian merchants are now to be found in India, on the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, in Singapore, in Afghanistan, Persia, Egypt, in every part of Asia Minor and Syria, Russia, Poland, Austria, Italy; and even the present patriarch of Abyssinia is an Armenian. The valiant descendants

of Haig are now, like the offspring of Abraham, considered every where clever and shrewd merchants: they were of great service to the East-India Company in carrying on their trade with the inland provinces of Hindostan; and it was once thought that they were fitter for this part of the mercantile business, than any agents of the Company itself.*

It is not more than half a century since the modern Armenian provinces began to look on Russia for succour and relief, when the Empress Catherine behaved in many instances most generously to the ruined house of Thorgoma. The fortunate wars of Russia against the Shah and the Sultan have within the last ten years brought the greater part of the old Parthian kingdom of Armenia under the sway of the mighty Czars. It seems probable,

* Bruce's Annals of the East-India Company, iii. 88. The mercantile companies trading to different parts of Asia found every where the Armenians in their way; the Armenians became jealous on the new intruders of their commerce, and tried to remove them by intrigues. See Hanway, i. 303.

that we may see yet in our times a new kingdom of Armenia, created out of barbarian elements by the generosity and magnanimity of the Emperor Nicholas.

The following Chronicle is translated from an edition printed at Madras in the year 1259 of the Armenian era, that is the year 1810 *Anno Domini*. The volume is printed by the command of that great promoter of literature, Ephrem, archbishop and primate of the Armenians in Russia, and contains, besides the chronicle of Vahram, the Elegy of Edessa by Nerses Shnorhaly; and the elegy on his death, written by the most eminent of his disciples, Nerses of Lampron. It is said in the preface of the before-mentioned volume, that the work of Vahram, the secretary of Leon III., had been previously printed, though in a very negligent and careless manner. I have never however seen any other than the Madras edition, where the proper names of places and foreign nations

are often incorrectly spelt. I am sorry to add, that I made the following translation in a place where it was impossible for me to refer to the well known works on the geography of Armenia, of Cilicia, and of Asia Minor generally; neither could I compare the narrative of Vahram with the statements of the contemporary Byzantine and Latin writers: but I trust the learned reader will easily supply these defects.

Vahram is nearly the latest author who is considered by the Armenian literati to write classically. The classical Armenian language had been preserved from the beginning of Armenian literature in the fifth century, amidst various political and religious disturbances, for a period of eight hundred years. During the course of the thirteenth century the language became corrupted; and in the fourteenth authors began to use in their writings the corrupted vernacular idiom. The ancient native writers were neglected, their classical trans-

lations and imitations of the celebrated Greek patterns became superseded by the barbarous literature of the Latins, and John of Erzinga, otherwise Bluz (1326) the last who wrote the language of Moses and Elisæus, translated a work on the sacraments by St. Thomas Aquinas.

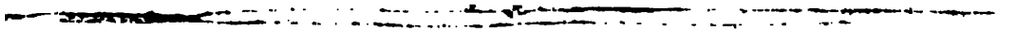
We thus find some orders of monks in Armenia, educated in the Latin schools and in latin manners, who corrupted the native Haican language by the introduction of many foreign scholastic expressions; and a new race of sanguinary barbarians, the Dominicans, became the authors of works worthy of their titulary saint. The Armenian literature remained in this abject condition, to which these holy fathers had reduced it, for nearly four hundred years; but about the middle of the eighteenth century the nation roused itself from this lethargy, and Madras, Calcutta, Djulfa, New Nakshivan, Etshmiad-

sin, Tabris, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Amsterdam, Smyrna, and principally Venice, bear witness to the literary energy of the far dispersed descendants of Haig. With the dawn of Armenian literature, history has been enriched by the Chronicle of Eusebius; yet more and weightier literary treasures may be expected from its meridian splendour. There are hints in the writers of the fifth century, of translations of Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and the Chronicle of Julius Africanus. Besides these versions of the classical writers of Greece, there exist very valuable original histories, which have never been printed or translated, and many a chasm might be filled up in the history of the middle ages by these authors. We should, perhaps, be introduced to nations now totally lost, or so mingled with others, that it is impossible to distinguish them. There is a rumour of a manuscript history of the Albanians,—a nation well known to Strabo

and to Moses of Chorene,* said to exist at a monastery in Armenia Proper,—of those Albanians, who lived between Iberia or Georgia and the confines of the Caspian Sea; but of which people no traces are to be found in our times.

A literary journey to Armenia, undertaken by an active laborious scholar, who unites the knowledge of the Armenian language with classical studies, would prove of the greatest importance to the knowledge of ancient history and to the advancement of general literature.

* Pompey the Great had vanquished the Albanians, who brought into the field twelve thousand horse and sixty thousand foot. Plutarch in Pompeio., t. ii. p. 1165. Gibbon, chap. xlvi. n. 6.



THE

CHRONICLE OF VAHRAM.

THE CHRONICLE.

THE Patriarch Nerses, called the Gracious, [1] has written a history of Armenia in verse, informing us of the manners and customs of our forefathers, from the highest antiquity down to his own time; and by so doing he admonished the people to walk in the path of righteousness. Seeing and reading this history, Leon, the anointed king of Armenia,[2] has been pleased to command me, the poor in spirit, to subjoin to the work of our holy father both what has been reported by faithful witnesses, and what we have seen with our own eyes. And he commanded me to write this supplement (also in verse), that it may be read with more pleasure.[3]

Now I, Raboun Vahram, am convinced of my want of talents, but am well versed in the

law of God, and have never deviated from the path of righteousness. Receiving the commands of the king, I have been ever since uneasy in my mind, out of fear that in not obeying, I may bring on me the two-fold punishment spoken of by St. Paul.(4) For, if to subjoin my mean composition to those of the ancients be audacious, to think that it could be compared with their finished productions, would be folly. This alarmed me, and I abstained from writing. Considering this very seriously, I thought at last that my humble and mean writing would increase the beauty of others, to which it was subjoined: the same as painters intentionally surround a gold ground by a black colour, not to adorn this black border, but to raise the beauty of the gold.(5) These considerations made me regain confidence, and I felt resolution enough to undertake this work. I confide in Him, whose grace is unbounded, who knows what nobody has seen, who under three appearances is only of one nature, *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost;* whose reign is for ever, who alone should be worshipped, and who alone creates and preserves all beings. With his

name I begin, and with his name I will finish. Both the Son and the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father.(6) Going back a little to former times, I will give (till I come to our age), in a cursory manner, what has been written down by our forefathers.

The Christian nations have been favoured with the inheritance of God; they have been enlightened by the faith, and had excellent laws; but they strayed from those laws, and were polluted by their bad works. The measure of their sins being filled, it excited the wrath of the Lord, and a burning fire arose in the desert of Arabia called Mahomed, the son of darkness.(7) This Father of heresy drew many after him; he arose and preached by the sabre and the sword, and subdued many countries. The wickedness remained after the death of the wicked, the son followed the father, and the usurpation was confirmed.

In the course of the following centuries, the nations, whom we call Turks, came (divided into twenty-four tribes)(8) from the north, conquered the realm of Persia and adhered to the heresy of Mohamed; they humbled the kings Togrul Beg. 1037

and vanquished the emperor;[9] they filled the world with their victories and destroyed its inhabitants, endangering both body and soul of their captives.[10] They came at last to Babylon,[11] and there erecting the seat of their empire, they marched to the westward, came
1042 to Armenia, dealt hardly with its inhabitants, and laid a heavy yoke on them. [12]

Tired of this oppression, and unable to sustain all the hardships which the barbarians laid on them, the inhabitants preferred being strangers in foreign countries to remaining slaves in their own home; they left the land of their forefathers, and fled to the western and northern regions. Cakig II, the anointed king of Armenia, considering these disastrous circumstances, and the dire necessity of the case, gave up his country to the Roman Emperor, in exchange for the great and celebrated town
1045 of Cæsarea, and other places in Cappadocia; and in consequence of this, the Armenians lived as emigrants under the Greeks.[13]

But the jealousy which had existed for so many centuries between the two nations, was rooted too deep in the heart of every individual,

and caused many disorders. The metropolitan of Cæsarea, named Marcus, had a dog, whom he called Armen.(14) Cakig hearing of this, invited Marcus to dinner, and asked of him the 1079
name of the dog: the frightened metropolitan called the dog by another name, the animal did not hear; but as soon as he called him by the proper name, *Armen*, the dog ran to him. The king then gave orders that both the metropolitan and his dog should be put into one sack together, and tortured until they could bear it no longer. As soon as the Greeks heard this news, they rose against the Armenians; and the sons of one Mandal killed the King Cakig.(15) This discouraged the chieftains and the leaders of the army, they ran away and were scattered over various parts of the world. A famous chief of the blood royal, *Rouben* by name, baron of the fort Kosidar,(16) hearing the news of the king's death, fled with his whole family to Mount Taurus,(17a) descended then the mountains on the other side of Phrygia, and took possession of a place called *Korhmoloss*, 1080
and remained there. Many other Armenians also took refuge in these mountains; the great

Rouben united them together, and so increased his strength, that he could take possession of the whole mountain district, expel the Greeks, and secure the country for himself. He lived a
1095 holy life, and was at last raised to Christ.

Constantine (or Costantin, as the Armenians write the name), the son of Rouben, succeeded him in the principality,[17b] and was a valiant and magnanimous prince; his principal place was Vahga, where he had his residence, and from whence he governed his dominions. He fought many battles, and conquered many forts; he destroyed the armies of the Greeks, and took many captives. The dominions of Constantine extended to the sea;[18] he was highly honoured by the Franks, and was their ally against the Turks; they raised his possessions to the dignity of a comitatus, or county, and appointed him the Count and Margrave.[19] Valiant, kind and benevolent, and a true believer, his fame reached to the other side of the sea; he cultivated the country and rebuilt the towns, and all was blooming and cheerful during his lifetime. There occurred a sign from heaven, announcing the death of this extraordinary man; the meat

brought to him on a silver plate started suddenly away, and fled to the corner of the house and hid itself among the poultry. Wise men looked on this as a sign that the king would soon be gathered to his forefathers, and so it happened. He reposeth in Christ with his father Rouben, and was buried in the church called Castalon.[20]

Constantine had two sons, the elder, who 1100
succeeded his father, was called Thoros, and the younger Leon. Thoros superabounded in wisdom, and his military valour is highly spoken of. He sought to revenge the blood of Cakig the Great, and made war against the sons of Mandal; he reduced their fort Centerhasg,[21] killed the inhabitants, and carried away great booty. He found in this place a likeness of the Holy Virgin, and treated it with great esteem: by this he became more and more powerful, and vanquished the Greeks many times. He took Anazarbus, built therein a large church, and adorned it with the names of his generals and with the likeness of the Holy Virgin. He governed valiantly, and so much was he esteemed that Cilicia lost its proper name, and has been

called *The Country of Thoros*. Thoros loved God with all his heart, favoured his servants, built churches, and held the convents in high esteem, in particular those which are called *Trassarg* and *Mashgevar;* he bestowed on these and on others many gifts. Living such a holy life, he went at last in to the Lord, and was
1123 buried in the holy church called Trassarg.(22)

After the death of Thoros, his only son and heir was cast into prison by some wicked people, who administered to him a poisonous drug,(23) thus the principality came to Leon, the brother of Thoros, and his equal in reputation. *Leon* conquered Mamestia and Tarsus; (24) he invited many famous warriors to join him, and allured them by great rewards. Forward in battle, he prepared himself, and often fought against the foreigners or infidels,(25) took their forts and put all the inhabitants to the sword. He was the admiration of warriors, and the fear of foreigners or infidels, so that they called him the new *Ashtahag*.(26) After his return with honours and fame to his own country, four sons were born to him, so incomparable among men; the first was called *Thoros* the Great, who was adorned by

Stephanus (or the crown). Next to Stephanus came *Meleh*, and then *Rouben*.

The Roman Emperor (Calo-Johanes), who had the surname of Porphyrogenitus,(27) hearing all that Leon had done, became very angry. He assembled a great army and brought them down into Cilicia. Leon, finding that he was surrounded by a large army, lost all confidence in his forts and fled to the mountains; but he was speedily taken and brought in fetters before the emperor. There are some who even affirm that the emperor broke his oath, and took Leon by fraud. His two sons were also arrested, and with their father carried into captivity; they were detained together in prison in Constan- 1137
tinople. Meleh and Stephanus were fortunately not in Cilicia at the time their father was taken prisoner; they were on a visit in Urha or Edessa, with their uncle, the count of that place.(28)

The Armenian army was destroyed, and the emperor took possession of Cilicia; he left a part of his soldiers in that country and then returned to Constantinople. The eye which looks down from heaven on the earth below had

pity upon Leon and his two unfortunate sons, and the emperor's heart turned to clemency. He honoured Leon exceedingly, and gave permission to his children to stay with their father; he invited him to dinner, and permitted him the recreation of hunting; he gave him handsome clothes and many other fineries.(29) On one occasion the emperor, being in his bathing-room, called Leon and his sons before him, treated them most kindly, and was so pleased with the prowess of Rouben, that he made him one of his household, and promised to raise him yet higher.

Rouben once took the bathing tub of the emperor, which was full of water, and swung it quickly round, which excited much surprise. The news reached the emperor, and all who saw the act called him a new Sampson; but this excited envy in the soldiers and filled them with hatred. They gained the ear of the emperor, accused Rouben, and ultimately killed him by their wicked devices.(30)

Thoros was now left alone with his father in prison, where he had a dream, which he instantly imparted to his father. "I saw in a

dream," said he, " a man of very superior appearance offering me a loaf of bread, on which was a fish; I being very astonished, took from the man what he offered to me; when thou, Oh father! camest, and I enquired the meaning of that; but what further happened I know not." Leon, hearing these words from his son, was enlightened by heaven, and turning to him joyfully, embraced him ardently and said: " Be joyful, O my honourable son! for thou wilt be honoured as thy forefathers. After evil cometh a twofold good fortune,—our country, which was taken from us on account of our sins, and other lands, will again be governed by thee. The fish which thou hast seen, means,—that thou wilt be master of the sea, but I shall not enjoy these good tidings."

Leon died and was elevated to Christ; the emperor then felt compassion for Thoros, took 1141
him out of prison, and received him into the imperial guards. Being now in the imperial palace, and a soldier among the soldiers, he very soon distinguished himself, and even the emperor looked upon him with benevolence. Before the end of the year (1141) the emperor left

Constantinople with a large army, and went to assist the Prince of Antioch, who was hard pressed by the Turks.(31) Being on a hunting party in the valley of Anazarbus, one of his own poisoned arrows wounded him, and he fell dead on the spot; he thus met with his deserved fate.(32) The army buried him on the place where he lost his life, and erected a monument which is even now to be seen, called *Kachzertik*, that is, *The corpse of the Calos, or Beautiful.*(33)

The Greek army returned, but Thoros remained in the country; though the traditions concerning this fact are different. Some say, Thoros withdrew himself quite alone, went by sea from Antioch to Cilicia, and took possession of his dominions, finding means to gain at first the town of Amouda, and afterwards all the other places. But the emperor's party say that Thoros, during the time the Greeks stayed in the country, lived with a lady who gave him a great sum of money; with these treasures he fled to the mountains, and discovered himself to a priest as the Son of Leon, the true king of the country. The priest was exceedingly happy at these tidings, and

Thoros hid himself under a shepherd's disguise. There were many Armenians in this part of 1143
the country who, being barbarously treated by the Greeks, sighed for their former masters; to these men, as it is said, the priest imparted the joyful tidings; they instantly assembled and appointed *Thoros* their *Baron*;[34] he gained possession of Vahga, and afterwards of many other places. Let this be as it may, it was certainly ordained by God that this man, who was carried away as a prisoner, should become the chief of the country of his forefathers, that he should take the government out of the hands of the Greeks, and destroy their armies.

After the death of the Porphyrogenitus, his *son* Manuel succeeded him, who is commonly called *Pareser, the Virtuous.*[35] Immediately after he had taken possession of the empire, Manuel assembled an army to assist the Franks, who came by sea to these countries, and were hardly pressed by the Turks. Coming to Cilicia, and hearing what Thoros had done; how he wronged the Greeks, and behaved himself as the master of the country, the emperor became

very angry, and ordered that Thoros should be brought to him a prisoner, which he thought an easy matter. But Thoros shut himself up in a steep and high fort, occupied all the narrow passes by his soldiers, and easily repulsed from thence the Greeks, many of whom were taken and brought in fetters before the victor. Manuel being informed of what had happened,
1146 became still more enraged.(36)

It happened that the emperor sent at that time, under the guard of many great men, a large sum of money, and that Thoros took the guard and the treasure, and divided the latter among his soldiers. These Greek nobles seeing this, said to Thoros: "Having taken such great riches, why dost thou squander them away to the common people?" Thoros answered nothing to this question, and only remarked: "These same men will bring you back to fetters, although you are now allowed to return to your friends."(37) The emperor heard with astonishment what these men, on their return, reported to him, and wished to keep on good terms with Thoros. The Prince of Antioch became the umpire between them. The emperor came to

Antioch, where also Thoros was invited, and gained the admiration of every body by his prowess and valour. The emperor wanted Anazarbus and many other places, which were in the possession of Thoros; he accordingly delivered them up for a large sum of money.

Thoros returned to Cilicia, and the emperor put a stop to the campaign in order to return to his own country. As soon as the imperial army started from Anazarbus, Thoros proceeded suddenly in the night time to Vahga. Now, whether the king presumed upon (38) any thing, or whether some communication had been made to him, he did not wish to hold to the treaty. Thoros, as soon as the Emperor Manuel went back, again began his inroads. He again took Anazarbus and conquered Mamestia and the surrounding towns. The Duke of Tarsus, who was appointed governor of the country by the emperor, hearing of these proceedings of Thoros, assembled the great Greek army left him by the emperor, and those Armenian barons who belonged to the emperor's party, and enjoyed many honours by his kindness, such as Oscin the baron of Lampron, and the family of Na-

thaniel, who were the chiefs of Asgourhas.[39] They now united together to besiege Mamestia; when Thoros behaved himself very valiantly. With only a few men he made a sally out of the town, gained a complete victory over a large army, and took many prisoners; some of the Greeks he put to death, while others gained their liberty for a ransom. His Armenian captives he set instantly at liberty, and contrived to gain their friendship. Oscin having been won by a large sum of money, gave up his connexion with the emperor, and made a treaty with Thoros; and Thoros gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Oscin.[40] The Baron having thus settled his affairs collected a fresh army, took the famous Tarsus, and all the country from the precipices of Isauria[41] to the sea; he conquered Cilicia, beginning from Isauria, from one end to the other. The Emperor Manuel hearing these occurrences grew enraged on feeling himself unable to chastise Thoros. He sent a message to the Sultan of Iconium,[42] Chlish-Aslan, and promised him a great sum of money if he would make war against Thoros. The first time, the sultan objected to the treaty

which existed between him and Baron Thoros, and so withstood the temptation; but his reluctance was overcome by a second message. He collected a large army, carried them into Cilicia, descended into the plain, and besieged 1154
Anazarbus. But God was against them and punished them with plagues, like those of the Egyptians; he sent flies and wasps against the infidels, and harassed them with many other heavy calamities. Thoros made inroads into the Sultan's own country, won Iconium itself, returned with a large booty, and sent Chlish-Aslan a present out of the booty. By this, and by the hardships they suffered, the Sultan and his followers were disgusted, and returned to their own country. They came back a second 1156
time, and returned again in confusion. The Sultan then kept his oath, and remained the friend of our hero.

Thoros was of a tall figure and of a strong mind: his compassion was universal; like the light of the sun he shone by his good works, and flourished by his faith; he was the shield of truth and the crown of righteousness; he was well versed in the Holy Scriptures and in

the profane sciences. It is said that he was of such profound understanding, as to be able to explain the difficult expressions of the prophets —his explanations even still exist.(43) In a word, he was so accomplished in every thing, that God was pleased to call him to heaven. He
1167 was buried in Trassarg.

His brother Stephanus, of whom we have spoken before, remained near the *Black Mountain*, making himself illustrious by his prowess, and gaining Carmania and the surrounding places;(44) but the Greeks came again against him, and he was consumed by the "seething pot."(45) He died in the field and was buried in the church of Arkagal (or the Archangel). He left two sons, Rouben and Leon, who became afterwards king of Cilicia.

Thoros left a child under age, whom he committed, together with the country, to the care of a certain Baron and Baillie Thomas, his father-in-law, with an injunction to deliver to him the country as soon as the child should have
1168 attained his majority.(46) *Meleh*, of whom we have spoken above, was with the Sultan of Aleppo, and hearing of the death of his brother,

he came with an army into the country, and dealt very cruelly with its inhabitants. Not being able to conquer the possessions of his brother he returned to Aleppo, and came back with still greater forces. Receiving a message from the Armenian Barons that they would freely acknowledge him as their sovereign, he sent back the Turks, and governed in peace for some time. But he soon drove into exile the Baillie Thomas, who went afterwards to Antioch. The child of Thoros was killed by the command of Meleh by some wicked people. This cruel 1169
man was at last killed by his own soldiers, and buried in the church called *the great Car*.(47)

The sons of Stephanus, Rouben and Leon, were very much honoured by a certain Baron *Pakouran*, by the whole Armenian nobility, and the army; they therefore appointed *Rouben* as their Baron. He was an 1174
excellent prince, compassionate and kind; he ruled the country very well, and was praised by every body. He was a friend of the Greeks, and married a lady of that nation, by whom he had two daughters blooming in chastity. He besieged Lampron and pressed its inhabitants

very hard; they not being able to withstand him, called the Prince to their assistance; he
1182 invited Rouben to Antioch, and fraudulently held him a prisoner, thinking to conquer Cilicia with ease during his captivity. But his brother Leon and the army behaved themselves very valiantly; they pressed Lampron so closely in the absence of the Baron, and defended their own country so well, that they released Rouben and acknowledged his supremacy. The inhabitants of Lampron gave themselves and their treasure up to the Baron of Cilicia. On his return to his own country Rouben was kind and humane to every one, and at his death left the crown to Leon; he gave him many rules concerning the government of the country, and committed to him his daughters, with an injunction not to give them foreign husbands, that the Armenians might not be governed by foreigners and harassed by a
1185 tyrant. Rouben was buried in Trassarg.

Leon was a valiant and learned prince; he enlarged his principality and became the master of many provinces. A few days only after his taking possession of the country, the de-

scendants of Ismael, under the command of one Roustam, advanced and came against Cilicia.[48] 1186
Leon was not frightened, but confiding in God, who destroyed Sanacherib, he vanquished with a few men the great army of the infidels. Roustam himself being killed by St. George,[49a] the whole Hagarenian army then fled and dispersed; the Armenians pursued them and enriched themselves by the booty. The power of Leon thus increased, and being confident in his strength, he chased the Tadjiks[49b] and pursued the Turks; he conquered Isauria and came as far as Iconium; he captured Heraclea,[50] and again gave it up for a large ransom; he blockaded Cæsarea,[51] and had nearly taken it; he made a treaty with the Sultan of Iconium, and received a large sum of money from him; he surrounded Cilicia on every side with forts and castles; he built a new church called Agner, and was exceedingly generous to all monasteries erected by his ancestors; his bounty extended itself even to the leprous; they being shunned by every body and expelled from every place, he assigned to them a particular house, and provided them with necessaries.

By such proceedings Leon attained a great name and became known to the Emperor of the Franks and the Greeks, and both, by Heavens' grace, favoured him with the diadem; and, indeed, the mission by which Leon the Great
Jan. 6, 1198 was crowned King,[52] was very famous. The Armenians assembled together in the city of Tarsus, and in the cathedral of that town the Catholicos[53] anointed Leon, as it is the custom, king of the house of Thorgoma,[54] to sit on the throne and flourish in kindness; to glorify the church, and to govern well the country; to collect together the dispersed people, and to renovate its power; lastly, to fill the country with peace and to make it as happy as paradise.

This great king brought the Prince of Antioch over to him, by marrying to him his niece, the daughter of his brother. He then made an inroad into the province of Arasu and conquered the place called Balresay; by his excellent wisdom he also gained Lampron.

1201 The great Sultan of Iconium Caicaiuss[55] marched from Camir against the king, and besieged the fort Capan. The unruly Armenian troops attacked the enemy without waiting for

an order of the king, and being partly killed and partly taken prisoners, the Turks pressed very hard the fort Capan. Leon did not let his spirits droop by this defeat; he collected what troops remained with him, and went plundering the territories of the Sultan as far as Camir. He laid waste the Sultan's country, and returned with a large booty. Hearing this the Sultan started from Cilicia to his own principality, and made peace with Leon, on the condition that the booty should be restored.

Leon, having governed the country twelve years as Baron and twenty-two as King, felt his end approaching, and appointed in an assembly of the whole nobility of the kingdom, a certain baron named Atan to be Regent (56) of the country and guardian of his daughter. Leon died soon after and was buried in the church of Agner; a part of his body was brought into the town of Sis, and a church was built thereupon.

After the assassination of Atan, Constantine was appointed regent, when he gave the daughter of the king and the heiress of the empire (the good and chaste lady Isabella), in marriage to one of the family of the king, the barons acknow- May 1, 1219

1220 ledged him as their lawful sovereign, and swore the oath of allegiance.(57) But there arose a disturbance in the country; one Rouben (58) came from the Prince of Antioch, gained over many of the nobility and aspired to the crown. He soon took possession of Tarsus and was about to march against Sis; but Constantine met him near Tarsus with a great army, and vanquished this enemy. Rouben and the chief men of his party died in prison.

By this victory Constantine became more powerful, and governed the country with a firm hand; he built churches and honoured the clergy. At this time the patriarch was called John, the sixth since Nerses, from whom, as we have said, we began our chronicle, and think it therefore proper to mention these blessed persons.

After the death of Nerses, that is to say, after his migration from one life to another, Gregorius, called *Degha*, or the *child*, was anointed. He was a fine and strong man. After him Gregorius, called *Carawesh*, or *killed by the stone;*—then Gregorius Abirad;—and at last John, whom we have before mentioned.(59) Leon entered into a

dispute with John, and appointed David in his place. This man governed the church for two years in an excellent manner: but after this, the king being reconciled to John, elevated him again on his seat. After this reconciliation king Leon fell sick and died, very much lamented by the Armenians. The Lord Constantine succeeded him, who excelling in kindness, betrothed the heiress of the empire, Isabella, before an assembly of the whole nobility, to his son Hethum.(60) 1223

Hethum was then anointed king of Armenia; he was crowned with a golden crown, and held a golden consecrated sceptre in his hand, with a globe mounted in gold; he was placed on a high golden throne, and having these signs of royalty in his right hand, he promised to deal justice to the people at large and protect the poor from injustice. Hethum was an excellent and gracious king; fine and handsome in body and soul; religious, kind, compassionate, upright, bountiful, and generous. The lawful heiress of the empire, Isabella, governed the country together with her husband, and led a pious, religious life. She was blessed for her

good deeds and exemplary life by many children, the numerous offsprings of a famous race.[61] The first was the pious Leon, who is now the anointed king, and after him Thoros, the blessed, who died the death of a hero.[62] Isabella brought also into the world five daughters and another son, Rouben, who died young. The queen being near the end of her life, and staying in a place called *Ked*, she heard a voice from heaven, crying aloud, "come my dove, come my love, thy end is near." She felt joyful on this happy vision, imparted it to the bystanders, and died in the Lord; her body was brought to
1252 the grave by a large assembly of the priesthood and laid in consecrated earth.

After the death of the Queen, the King was much occupied in the government of his country; for there arose an insolent people from the north, called *Tatars*, and also called, after their country, Mugal or Mogul,[63] who laid waste all the countries which fell into their hands. The words of the prophet Jeremiah, that "the seething pot will run over from the north," have been found true a second time, this being the case we must expect the same consequences. There

were four kings, each of whom was accompanied[64] by ten chiefs, which is even now the case. These four kings met together with their ten followers; one arose and spoke with a loud voice in this high assembly, and he being foremost in power, was declared "*The* 1254
son of God in heaven.[65] To him went king Hethum,[66] and there remained four years. Hethum had considerable trouble, but he obtained friendly words, and a written treaty after the custom of the Tatars.[67] He then came back with great honours and conquered many provinces; he routed the armies of the Persians or Turks,[68] and took their country; he won by force Carmania; and Sebehesny was taken out of the hands of the Turks, whose splendour faded away.[69] God's will was changed, and he looked again on us with a benevolent eye; the doors of heaven were opened to let through his kindness on earth. The country was fruitful and happy like paradise, and every man sat in peace, as it is said in the scriptures, under his own vine. But the Armenians in Cilicia caused themselves, like in former times, Sodom and Ghomora, by their intemperance and wickedness

to be very soon devoured by the wrathful fire[70] of heaven.

1265 The proud slaves who governed Egypt took by force Damascus, very hard pressed the Sultan of Berea or Aleppo, and conquered all the country called by the name of Shem.[71] These slaves united themselves with all the other Hagarenians, and it was as if the sand of the sea arose to grasp swords and daggers, and to fight the battles of men; they went against the Christians, like avengers sent from God. The sea-coast (from Gaza to Cilicia) suffered in particular; all the forts were destroyed. Antioch, the great Antioch, fell into their hands—they burned the houses, and the inhabitants were carried away into foreign countries.[72] Having taken possession of the before-mentioned territories, they went against Cilicia, sent to Hethum and demanded tribute of him.[73] The king collected his soldiery under the command of his sons, and hurried himself away to the Moguls for aid.[74] He had not yet returned, when the Hagarenians came into the country; the army fled, but the princes remained. Thoros was killed in battle, and Leon was carried away

prisoner from his country. This unfortunate 1266
country was destroyed by fire, and the inhabitants were put to the sword; but the forts, having received private encouragement from Leon, could not be taken by the enemy, who retreated from them with shame. The famous church in Sis and the town itself was given up to the flames, but the inhabitants had time to fly.

Having done whatever they chose, the enemy returned to his own country in great triumph, and with a large booty. After their departure Hethum returned at the head of a Mogulian army into his own kingdom, and saw all the misfortunes which had befallen him during his absence; he wept bitterly, but he did not despair, and placed reliance on the mercy of God. His son, who had been carried away a prisoner, being endowed with a courageous nature, did not let his spirits droop or show any fear; on the contrary, he cheered the captives and consoled every man; for some he provided food, for others he paid their ransom and set them at liberty. The army presented Leon to the Sultan, who continued in his own country, and who, looking on Leon and hearing his wise speech,

received him graciously, and spoke very kindly to him. With the permission of the Sultan, Leon went to Jerusalem to adore the holy cross, and to pray for the remission of his sins. He then went back to Egypt, into that prison where Joseph was in former times. The priests admonished him to think only of God; moreover, he constantly read the Scriptures and was always absorbed in prayer. Therefore God looked upon him with compassion, and turned the heart of the Sultan to pity.

Leon, when taken prisoner, was thirty years of age; remaining one year and ten months in Egypt, he made a treaty with the Sultan, which was ratified by King Hethum his father. This being done, Leon was set at liberty with great demonstrations of honour. The whole country rejoiced when Leon returned to his father: crowds of people ran to meet and see him; he embraced them all, and received them with heavenly kindness. The king went, on foot, to thank God that he had lived so long as to see his son Leon again, and in the presence of the
1268 highly-gifted patriarch Jacobus,[75] the follower of Constantine, he earnestly entreated Leon to

Leon received the sceptre with the golden globe in his right hand,- and the Holy Ghost descended on him,—to be king on the house of Thorgoma; to govern and to defend the flock after the law of God.

Leon, sitting on the throne of his forefathers, was gracious to every body; he pardoned those who had offended him, and was in general exceedingly humane; he augmented the officers of the royal household, and held the clergy in high esteem. He provided for the poor ecclesiastics, and generally for all poor people; in what place soever he stayed, the indigent were provided for from the court. This being known, many people came from foreign parts, soldiers and others, and remained months although not invited; their expenses were payed by the court. Leon benefited the clergy even more than his forefathers, and gave to the Vartabeds their proper rank,(77) for he was a friend of learning;(78) every person who was elevated to the dignity of a Vartabed received a present from the king, and it was registered as an eternal remembrance. The army received higher pay than before, and the king was so kind to every body, so generous,

so compassionate,[79] that all were delighted; and the whole nation of Armenians became, as it were, renovated. Satan, the author of all mischief, saw this, and he contrived to fight against the king; he tempted him by misfortunes like Job; he tried him by many wounds, but the king was found of more patience than even Job himself, for Job spoke of his temptations with his friends, and uttered curses as the misfortunes came one after the other.

Leon soon gained information of the plots of 1273
the chieftains of his own family, but confiding in God, he took away only their castles, and granted them their lives; he left it to the Lord to reward them after their designs. Now the 1274
Sultan of Egypt, breaking the treaty he made with King Hethum, came against this country; he did not so much as give any notice of his design. United with the Arabs and the Turcomans, the Sultan, without any one being aware of it, made an inroad into Cilicia. These Turcomans were a long time since in this country as shepherds; they here kept their winter quarters, and knew therefore all the passes and defiles.[80] United with these people the Egyp- 1276

tians harassed the country more than had ever been the case before; they penetrated into the mountains, discovered the recesses of men and beasts, and destroyed numbers; many were also killed who had been found in the flat country. Only those who were in forts and castles escaped, all the rest were taken. The country was surrounded on all sides and given to the flames; the enemy took Tarsus, burnt the beautiful and celebrated church of St. Joseph, and plundered the town; having done all this mischief, they retired.

King Leon, full of courage, wished to try the chance of a battle, but the barons left him and he had only a few soldiers; seeing the desolation of the country, he was very sorrowful, but consoled every body and encouraged the people by presents. Whilst he was sustaining these trials without scarcely uttering a sigh, one of his sons, of tender age, died, and he himself fell into a sickness from which he could scarcely be saved. Whilst yet depressed by his sufferings he lost a daughter, but through all this he became not impatient, and uttered not an angry word; he placed his confidence in God, and suffered

his trials with calmness. But there remained yet another trial for the country at large; the country was visited by a heavy plague, of which many poor people died, so that the land could not be cultivated, and there was in consequence a want of the necessaries of life. The king did not let his spirits droop, he animated every body, and said in the words of Job, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord! Naked came we into the world, and naked do we leave it again." In these days the Lord began to look on us again with kindness from above, and the words of the prophet Hosea were fulfilled, "The shadow of death fled from us miserable men;" the Lord became reconciled to the harassed and desolated 1276
nation of Armenia. For the beginning of better days we were indebted to the people, who made war against the king. Having plundered our country, the Sultan withdrew his army, but Leon then came forward, vanquished all his opponents, took a great booty and returned joyful into his own kingdom.(81) The Sultan of Egypt hearing this, sent a message to Leon for

peace and friendship. The news of these victories spread very far, so that the Khan [82] heard of it, sent armour and weapons, and admonished Leon to carry on the war.

The Turks, who reign in Camir (Iconium), wished at this time to make a treaty with the Moguls to hurt us; they spoke in consequence very badly of us, and induced the Khan by a sum of money to make a treaty with them.[83] The Turks spoke then more freely, and accused us publicly, but they were soon undeceived; for as soon as the union was dissolved, the Moguls came and destroyed them by the sword, sent presents to our king, and behaved in general very kindly to him. By this behaviour the king gained courage, made an incursion into Turkestan,[84] took a large booty and returned into his own country with great joy. The neighbouring kings hearing this were much astonished, and longed to be at peace with us. Leon forgot all the mischief they had done, and accepted with a kind heart their offerings of friendship; for he was benevolent by nature, and rejoiced in kind dealings; misfortune could not depress him, and good fortune could not

elevate him; he looked only on God and to govern his country well.

Leon had three sons: Hethum, the first born, learned in the Scripture and clever in every branch of science; the second is called Thoros, and the third Sempad. The spouse of the king, the Queen Ceran, is famous for her fidelity and benevolence. So is our king, who by God's decree is placed over the country; may the Lord yet grant him a long and a peaceful reign.(85)

Now to the end of my work I will subjoin some observations. It has been said before, that when the Tadjiks came into our country, they burned the house of God;—that they took the crosses, the Scriptures, and all other holy materials, into their abominable hands and cast them into the fire with infamous jokes; and that they put the priests to the sword, and tortured all Christians. When all these misfortunes befell the country, some of the inhabitants bore them patiently, though reluctantly; and others became furious and uttered impious words, for they were blind in spirit and weak in faith. "Can this be," said they, "can this be a true

judgment, by which we are condemned? Are we the only sinners of all the inhabitants of the world, that we alone should be ruined? or are the Tadjiks the men of righteousness, by whose hands we are killed: those unbelievers, soiled by every wicked deed?" But from this reasoning it would follow, that those who fell under the hall by which Sampson buried himself, were not killed by reason of their own sins; that the Galileans, who were put to death by Pilate, fell not by reason of their own wickedness, but by the judgment of the Lord! All who are not penitent will suffer the same punishment, God chastens him whom he loves.(86) To rest his hopes on God, and to be patient in misfortune, is the best way to live in this world and in the next. May Leon, King of the Armenians, the writer and the reader of this, be judged worthy to enter into this eternal and immortal world. To the praise and honour of the three persons and one God, now and for ever, world without end.

NOTES.

Note (1), page 23.

THIS is the famous patriarch Nerses Clajensis in the twelfth century, one of the best writers of the Armenian nation. Galanus (I. 239) is full of praise of him. " Nerses Clajensis,', says he, " orthodoxus patriarcha, quem Armenia universa, ut sanctum illius ecclesiæ patrem et doctorem agnoscit, ejusque commemorationem in Liturgia et Menelogiis celebrat. Fuit poeta sacer, et hac quidem facultate adeo insignis, ut celebrioribus, meo judicio, vel Græcis vel Latinis poetis in suo cœquandus sit idiomate." But both the praises and the censures of Galanus are to be received with great caution; he is blinded by his orthodoxy, and praises and blames the authors not according to their merit, but according to their faith. Nerses has written much and on very different subjects; his elegy on the capture of Edessa (1144) by the Turks, and his correspondence with the emperor Alexius and Manuel, are the most interesting works for us and for history. The elegy of Edessa

has been printed several times and in many places: most recently (1826) in Paris, but without a French translation. The Archbishop Somal is not well-informed, when he says, (Quadro della storia letteraria di Armenia. Venezia 1829, p. 84), " fu accompagnata da una versione francese." The correspondence of Nerses has only, as far as I know, been once printed, *viz.* at St. Petersburgh, 1788, 1 vol. 4to. His short and uninteresting chronicle of the History of Armenia has been often printed, and for the last time in 1824 in Constantinople. The Archbishop Somal says, that this work was corrupted by the interpolations of the schismatical editor (" audacemente dall' editore falsificata e con riprovevole temerita sparsa di alcune aggiunte erronee contro il Concilio ecumenico di Calcedonia.") It is strange that the Armenians, who entertain the tenets of their national church, and are styled schismatical by the proselytes of the Roman Catholic Church, accuse the orthodox editors at Venice of the same falsifications; the Armenians in India wish therefore to print all their works, particularly the religious ones, at the press of the Bishop's College in Calcutta. (See Bishop Heber's Journals, iii. 435. 3d edition.)

Note (2), page 23.

This is king Leon III, who reigned from 1269 to 1289, and of whom the chronicler speaks at the end of his work.

Note (3), page 23.

I imagine Vahram never read Lucretius: that author gives the same reason for writing *De Rerum Natura* in verse.

Note (4), page 24

Epist. ad Rom., chap. xiii. in the beginning.

Note (5), page 24.

The reader may recollect the old Byzantine pictures, painted on a gold ground; there is a large collection of these pictures at Schleisheim, near Munich.

Note (6), page 25.

I feel regret for poor Vahram, who here shows himself a heretic; for notwithstanding that it was forbidden to add any article to the creed of Nice, or rather Constantinople, the Latins added the celebrated *filioque*, that is to say, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father *and the Son*, and condemned all others as heretics who upheld the old church, and would not acknowledge these innovations. Vahram, the Raboun, or doctor, shows himself to be such a heretic. He even wrote some dissertations on the trinity and the incarnation, at the command of his master king Leon III, but they were never printed. The Roman Catholic author of the "Quadro della letteratura di Armenia" (p. 115), says, that even in these works Vahram "si prova

scrittore di poco sana dottrina intorno al dogma della processione dello Spirito-Santo."

Note (7), page 25.

This is the language of all divines, and of those philosophers who think *whatever is, is right.* If the sins of mankind have produced Mahomed, why has Spain alone out of the nations of Europe been depressed? Were these Visigoths greater sinners than their brethren in the south of France or the Franks themselves? It is not a speculative opinion, but the truth of history, that man is the architect of his own fortune, and that the world belongs to the mighty.

Note (8), page 25.

The Turks were known in Europe as early as the beginning of the sixth century of our era, but the western writers tell us nothing satisfactory, either as to the name or the origin of this large division of the human race. The Chinese, who were earlier acquainted with their *Thoo kiouei*, are also contradictory in their statements. They say, the Thoo kiouei are a particular tribe or class of the Hioung noo, called by different names, and that they are called Thoo kiouei because their town near the Altai, or gold mountain, had the form of a *helmet*, and a helmet is called Thoo kiouei, *ym y wei haou*. Matuanlin, in his great work, B. 343, initio, says this is the cause why this people is so called

It is fortunate for historical literature, that this accomplished Chinese scholar had no system in view in compiling his work: he quotes on the same page other accounts on the origin of the name *Thoo kiouei* and different traditions of the original history of this nation. It has been remarked by Klaproth (Asia Polyglotta, 212) that Thoo kiouei (or a very similar word) means, indeed, in the Turkish language a *helmet*. If the Hiong noo are Turks they cannot certainly be either the Huns of Attila or Fins. Concerning the tribes of the Turks nothing is known with any certainty; tribes rise and decay in Tartary like the sand-hills in the desert: who can count them? The reader may find a lively and true picture of this rising and falling of the different Turkoman tribes in a novel, by Frazer, called *Memoirs of a Kusilbash*, printed 1828, in three volumes. The different denomination of the same people, Turks and Turkomans, is already used by William of Tyre, the celebrated historian of the Crusades; it may be said that they differ one from another, like, in former times, the Highlanders and Lowlanders in Scotland. While describing the difference between Turks and Turkomans, we may use the words of Dr. Robertson, mentioning the attempt of King James II. to civilize the Highlands and Isles. That great historian has the following words:—" The inhabitants of the low country began gradually to forget the use of arms, and to become

attentive to the arts of peace. But the Highlanders, or the Turkomans, retaining their natural fierceness, averse from labour and inured to rapine, infested their more industrious neighbours by their continual incursions." (*History of Scotland*, ad a. 1602.) Some modern authors think it worth their while to take notice of a fault of a copyist (τοῦρκοι for ἴυρκαὶ), and find therefore the Turks as early as in Herodotus, Pomponius Mela, and Plinius; but this is not so unfair as to make Laura, the beautiful and chaste Laura, responsible for eleven children, upon the faith of a misinterpreted abbreviation, and the decision of a librarian. (Lord Byron's Notes on Childe Harold, Canto iv. stanza 30, lines 8 and 9.)

Note (9), page 26.

The kings are the different Arabian chiefs who ruled independently of the Caliph of Bagdad; the *emperor* is the Emperor of Constantinople, or the Roman emperor, as Vahram says, with the other authors of these times. (See Gibbon, ch. 57.)

Note (10), page 26.

"The captives of these Turks were compelled to promise a spiritual as well as temporal obedience; and instead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horseshoe, a badge of ignominy, was imposed on the infidels, who still adhered to the worship of their fathers." (Gibbon, l. c.)

Note (11), page 26.

This is not quite true; the Caliph of Bagdad,—which new town our author calls in his poetical style by the ancient name of Babylon,—could not move from his capital without the consent of the descendents of Seljuk, but they never chose Babylon as the seat of their empire; they had no metropolis, but they preferred Nishapur. Abul Fazel (Ayeen Akbery II. 337) places Bagdad 33, and Babylon 32° 15′ latitude; their longitude is the same; 80° 55′ from the Canary Islands.

Note (12), page 26.

The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Tauris to Arzearum, and the blood of one hundred and thirty thousand Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. (Gibbon l. c.)

Note (13), page 26.

This is certainly the truth; the Armenians fled in their despair from the new Mahometan to the old Christian enemy. It can be only national vanity or folly, to assert or suppose that the Emperor Michael would give the province of Cappadocia for a country trampled on by the Seljuks, under whose irresistible power he felt himself. The Cappadocians remembering how they were dealt with in former time by the Armenians, and in particular by Tigranes, could not receive their new

guests with much pleasure; and this is the principal reason of the great disaster which soon followed.

Διέθηκε δὲ φαύλως αὐτοὺς Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρμένιος, ὑπὲρ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν κατέδραμεν· ἅπαντας γὰρ ἀναστάτους ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, &c. (Strabo xii. 2, vol. iii. 2d ed. Tauchn.) It is stated by the American missionaries, who have visited Cappadocia, that about 35,000 Armenians are still living in this province. "Cappadocia has 30,000 Greeks and 35,000 Armenians." (Mr. Gridley, in the Missionary Herald, vol. xxiv, printed at Boston, p. 111.) Cæsarea has, according to the same authority, from 60 to 80,000 inhabitants, and of these 2,000 are Greeks, and 8,000 Armenians. (Herald, 260.)

Note (14), page 27.

The origin of this name of the people is not known. The Armenians call themselves after their fabulous progenitor Haig, and derive the name *Armen* from the son of Haig, Armenag; but I have not much confidence in these ancient traditions of Moses of Chorene. The Armenians are a strong instance that religion and civilization only give a particular character and value to a people, and preserve it from being lost in the course of time. Where are now the thirty different nations, which Herodotus found (Melpom. 38), between the bay of Margandius and the Triopian promontory? The Armenians are certainly a tribe of the ancient Assy-

rians; their language and history speak alike in favour of it. Nearly all the words of Assyrian origin which occur in the Scriptures and in Herodotus can be explained by the present Armenian language. Their traditions say, also, that Haig came from Babylon; and Strabo's authority would at once settle the question, if he did not affirm too much. The Arabian and the Syriac language, and consequently the people, are radically different from the Armenian.

These are the passages of the geoprapher alluded to: *Τὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν Σύρων καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων, πολλὴν ὁμοφυλίαν ἐμφαίνη κατὰ τε τὴν διάλεκτον . . . . καὶ οἱ Ἀσσύριοι, καὶ οἱ Ἀριανοὶ, καὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι παραπλησίως πως ἔχουσι, καὶ πρὸς τούτους καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . . τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν Σύρους καλουμένους, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Σύρων Ἀρμενίους καὶ Ἀραμμαίους καλεῖσθαι.* (Strabo i. 2, vol. i. 65, ed. Tauchn.) But the Aramæns or Syrians are quite a different people from the Armenians, and Strabo is quite wrong when he thinks that both names are commonly used to designate one and the same nation. There is a fabulous story of a certain Er, the son of a certain *Armenios*, a Pamphylian by birth (Plato de Rep. x), but such stories are of no value in sober history.

Note (15), page 27.

This story is told with more details by some contemporary chroniclers. Cakig reigned or rather had the

name of a king from 1042-1079, and he is the last of the Bakratounian kings, a family which began its reign under the supremacy of the Arabs in the year 859 of our era. As regards the geography, the reader may compare the Memoires sur l'Armenie, by Saint-Martin.

Note (16), page 27.

Armenia remained from the time of the Parthians a feudal monarchy, and for this reason I use the expressions of the feudal governments in the middle ages.

Note (17a), page 27.

Dionysius, in his description of the earth, says (v. 642) that the mountain is called Taurus: *οὕνεκα ταυροφανές τε καὶ ὀξυκάρηνον ὀδεύει οὔρεσιν ἐκταδίοισι πολυσχεδὲς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα*; perhaps more poetical than true. "The road lies over the highest ridges of the Taurus mountains, where, amidst the forests of pines, are several beautiful valleys and small plains; there appears, however, no trace of cultivation, though there is ample proof that these mountains were anciently well inhabited, as we meet with scarcely a rock remarkable for its form or position that is not pierced with ancient catacombs." (Col. Leake's Asia Minor in Walpole's Travels, i. 235.)

Note (17b), page 28.

This is the proper name for the possessions of Rouben; the Armenians begin generally the line of the kings of Cilicia with the flight of Rouben in 1080.

Note (18), page 28.

That is to say, as far as the gulph of Issus or Scanderum. Cilicia and the sea-shore was also in former times once in the possession of the kings of Armenia,—"the country on the other side of the Taurus," as the ancients used to say. Strabo says, from the Armenians (xiv. 5, vol. iii. 321. ed. Tauchn.) that they, *τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ταύρου προσέλαβον μεχρὶ καὶ Φοινίκης.* Plutarch says, that Tigranes "had colonized Mesopotamia with Greeks, whom he drew in great numbers out of Cilicia and Cappadocia."—(Plutarch in Lucullo.)

Note (19), page 28.

Constantine sent many provisions to the Franks, when they were besieging Antioch. The Armenians were happy to get such powerful allies against their enemies, the Greeks. Alexius could not be very well pleased with the creation of an Armenian Margrave by the Latins, of whom he extorted "an oath of homage and fidelity, and a solemn promise that they would either restore, or hold the Asiatic conquests, as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire."—(Gibbon, iv., 131. London, 1826, published by Jones.) The Armenians translate *Margrave* by *Asbed*, that is, Chief of the cavalry.

Note (20), page 29.

It is not easy to see what connexion there is between the resurrection of a hen, or a duck, with the death of

a king. What were the principles of divination of these wise men, of whom Vahram speaks?

Note (21), page 29.

The name of this fort is written differently by different authors; I could not consult the great geographical works of Indjidjean.

Note (22), page 30.

I think that *Trassarg* and *Trassag* is the same word; the names of places seem to be very corrupted in the Madras edition of Vahram's Chronicle. Chamchean says the king was buried in the monastery *Trassarg*, which is very probable; but how could he say Thoros left no son? In these monasteries the Armenian literature and sciences in general were very much studied in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; some of the greatest Armenian authors flourished in the time of the Crusades. In their libraries were collections of the old classics, with many translations of the Greek authors; "e da quest' opere," says the Archbishop Somal, "attinsero gli scrittori del corrente secolo (the 12th), quello precisione d'idee, quella nobilita di concetti, quella purezza di stile, per cui si rendettero veramente gloriosi." Quadro 80. Foreigners are at a loss to find all these good qualities in the Armenian authors of the twelfth century.

Note (23), page 30.

With what caution the secretary of Leon III. relates the treachery of Leon I. We see by this passage that Chamchean is in the wrong in saying that Thoros left no son. (Epitome of the great history of Armenia, printed in Amenian, at Venice in the year 1811, p. 300.)

Note (24), page 30.

Is not Mamestia the ancient Hamaxia? " Εἶϑ Ἁμαξία ἐπὶ βουνοῦ κατοικία τις," says Strabo, ὕφορμον ἔχουσα, ὅπου κατάγεται ἡ ναυπηγήσιμος ὕλη, (vol. iii. 221 ed. Tauchn.) It is certainly the Malmestra of the Latins and Byzantines. This town is called Mesuestra, Masifa, and by other names. (Wesseling Itner, p. 580. See a note of Gibbon at the end of the 52d chapter.) Tarsus is very well known as the principal town of Cilicia, as the native place of many celebrated men, as the stoic Chrysippus, and of the Apostle Paul. The following passage of Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus illustrates very well the province and the whole history of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. " Thence they prepared to penetrate into Cilicia; the entrance was just broad enough for a chariot to pass, very steep, and inaccessible to an army, if there had been any opposition ..... From thence they descended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered and full of all sorts of trees and vines; abounding in seasame, panic, millet,

wheat and barley; and is surrounded with a strong and high ridge of hills from sea to sea. After he had left the mountains he advanced through the plain, and having made twenty-five parasangas in four days' march, arrived at Tarsus," etc. (See Spelman's notes to his translation of the Expedition of Cyrus.) Tarsus has now only, as it is said, 3,000 inhabitants.

Note (25), page 30.

The Armenian phrase has this double signification, and Leon indeed carried on a war against the Seldjuks and the Count of Antioch, who sought to deprive him by treachery of all his possessions. Baldwin was not ashamed of doing any thing to enlarge his dominions. I know not why Vahram speaks not a word about these matters. (See Chamchean, l. c. p. 301.)

Note (26), page 30.

The old fabulous hero of Armenia, spoken of by Moses of Khorene.

Note(27), page 31.

Gibbon, iii. 341.

Note (28), page 31.

Joscelin I., Count of Edessa. (See the Digression on the Family of Courtnay.—Gibbon, iv. 224.) Why does

not Vahram, where he speaks of the four sons of Leon, name this Stephanus, who lived in Edessa with his uncle? It seems that there is a corruption in the text. Should the name of *Stephanus* be hidden under *Stephane, the crown* of Thoros, or which is more probable, is a line fallen out of our text? It would be necessary to compare some manuscripts to restore the original text. Thoros never received the kingly crown; he was only Baron of Cilicia: *Stephane* seems, therefore, nothing else than *Stephanus*.

Note (29), page 32.

This agrees with all that we know about the character of Calo-Johanes. "Severe to himself, indulgent to others, chaste, frugal, abstemious, the philosophic Marcus would not have disdained the artless virtues of his successor, derived from his heart, and not borrowed from the schools."—(Gibbon.)

Note (30), page 32.

I am not able to look into the Byzantine version of this fact. Calo-Johanes was not the man to be easily deceived, and to persecute innocent persons; we know, on the contrary, that he pardoned many people implicated in high treason. Calo-Johanes, as Camchean says (l. c. 304), suspected also Leon and his other son Thoros, and they were again sent to prison.

Note (31), page 34.

Our author has here the word *Tadjik*, a name by which he and the other Armenian historians of the middle ages promiscuously call the native Persians, the Gasnevides and the other Turks. The origin and the proper meaning of this word will perhaps never be ascertained; it has something of the vagueness of the ancient denomination of *Scythia* and *Scythians*. It is certain that, in the works which go under the name of Zoroaster, and in the Desatir, the Arabs are called *Tazi*, and it is likewise certrin that the language of this people, which is now called *Tadjik*, is pure Persian; the Bochars are, in their own country, called Tadjiks. How and why the ancient Persian name of the Arabs should be given to the Persians themselves it is impossible to conceive. Elphinstone (Account of the Kingdom of Câbul, London 1819, vol. i. 492) thinks that the Arabs and Persians were, in the course of time, blended together into one nation, and became the ancestors of the Tadjiks; but why should Armenians, Arabs, Turks and Afghauns, call those mestizes with a name of the Pehlvi language, which means originally an Arab? It seems rather that *Tazi* and *Tadjik* are two different words; *Tazi* is the Persian name for *Arab*, and *Tadjik* the name of a particular race of people, of whom the Persians are only a tribe. I do not know on what authority Meninski (see Klaproth's Asia, Polygl. 243) relies, but it is certain

that the Chinese distinguish between the *Ta she* (Arabs) and the *Ta yue* (the Tadjiks), of whom, as they say, the Po she (Persians) are only a tribe. The Chinese had no communication with the Arabs before Mahomed, but they heard of them by their intercourse with the Sassanides, and call them, therefore by the Persian name Ta she (9685, 9247), but the *Po se* (8605, 9669) are only, as they say, a tribe like some other tribes, who formed particular kingdoms of the Ta yue (9685, 12490), or Tadjiks. They have received the name *Po sse* from their first king, *Po sse na;* but the Chinese had no direct communication with Persia before Kobad or Cabades, Kiu ho to (6063, 3984, 10260), as they spell the name, in their imperfect idiom, who became known to them by his flight and misfortunes. (See Matuanlin, l. c. Book 338, p. i, and following; Book 339, p. 6 a., p. 8 a., and the history of the *Ta she* or Arabs, p. 18, b. l. c.) But I am in doubt of Matuanlin, who makes the Masdeizans, followers of Buddha; he calls the Ateshgahs *Fo sse* (2539, 9659), Temples of Buddha, (l. c. p. 6, b. l. 5.) The popular pronunciation of *Ta yue* is, in many Chinese dialects, *Tai yuet.* I myself have often heard these characters so pronounced in Canton, and it was then as nearly as possible the ancient name of the Germans, *Teut*, the brethren of the Persians: the Chinese know also that the Ye ta (12001, 9700), *Getae*, *Gothi*, belong to the race of the Tayuet (Matuanlin, Book 338,

p. 11), &c. But what sober historian would draw conclusions from a similarity of names? Perhaps a close inquiry may carry us to some leading facts, by which we may be able to connect the information of the east and the west. It would certainly be strange to begin the history of the Germans with the extracts taken out of the Han and Tang shoo. When I say the history of the Germans, I mean the history of those remains of the Teuts who remained in Asia, for Germany was certainly peopled long before the Chinese got any information of the Ta yue. These races became only known in China under the great dynasty of Han. A keen etymologist may, perhaps, find the modern Tadjiks in the ancient Daai or Daae; he may suppose that the Persians, like the Parthians, were only a branch of the Scythians or Tatars, and with confidence adduce a passage of Strabo, where it is said that the greater part of the Scythians are known by the name of Daai, Οἱ μὲν δὴ πλείους τῶν Σκυθῶν Δάαι προσαγορεύονται. (Strabo, Geogr. xi. 8, vol. ii. 430, ed. Tauchn.) I will only add, that the same Strabo thinks, that the Daci (Δάκοι) may in former times have been called Daï (Δάοι), but he distinguishes them from the Daae (Δάαι). (Vol. ii. 36.)

Note (32), page 34.

Only the wounded pride of an Armenian could say this.

Note (33), page 34.

Have any of our modern travellers seen this monument? Claudian, the famous Latin poet, had composed in Greek the Antiquity of Tarsus, Anazarbus, Berytus, Nice, &c. Abul Fazel (Ayeen Akbery, ii. 348) places Tarsus long. 68° 40′, lat. 36° 50′. (See Note 24.)

Note (34), page 35.

The Armenians did so in imitation of the neighbouring Franks; they took many customs from the Crusaders, and corrupted their language by the introduction of many foreign words.

Note (35), page 35.

Is this surname of Manuel found in the Byzantine writers?

Note (36), page 36.

Vahram is in the wrong; Andronicus, not Manuel himself was at the head of the army. (Chamchean, 306; Gibbon, iii. 344.) Thoros was on such rocks, as Xenophon in the Anabasis, speaking of the rocks of Cilicia, calls πέτρας ἠλιβάτους, "rocks inaccessible to every thing but to the rays of the sun." Homer makes often use of this expression.

Note (37), page 36.

This is a very obscure passage in the original. Vahram is no friend of details, and he is every moment in need of a rhyme for *eal*; who can wonder, therefore, that he is

sometimes obscure? This passage is only clear, upon the supposition that Thoros divided the ransom among his soldiers. This is also stated by Chamchean.

See Note 28.

Note (38), page 37.

I do not know why Vahram calls Thoros all on a sudden *Arkay*, "king;" how the royal secretary exerts himself to draw a veil over the treachery of Thoros!

Note (39), page 38.

Oscin is the father of a celebrated author and priest, Nerses Lampronensis, so called from the town or fort Lampron; he was born 1153, and died 1198. In the concilium of Romcla 1179, Nerses spoke for the union with the Latin church, and the speech he made on this occasion is very much praised by the Armenians belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. This speech has been printed at Venice with an Italian translation, 1812. (Quadro 94.) Galanus, as the reader may easily imagine, speaks in very high terms of Nerses (i. 325): "Cujus egregia virtus," says he, "digna plane est, ut acterna laude illustretur, nomenque ad ultimas terrarum partes immortali fama pervehatur." For us his most interesting work is an elegy on the death of his parent, master, and friend, Nerses Shnorhaly; he gives a biography of this celebrated Catholicus, with many particulars of the history of the time. Nerses Shnorhaly

was not only an author and a saint, but also a great statesman.

Note (40), page 38.

In the whole course of history the Armenian nobles shew a great party feeling and much selfishness. They were never united for the independence of their country; if one part was on the side of the Persians or Turks, we shall certainly find another on the side of the Greeks or Franks; and the native Armenian kings had more to fear from their internal, than from their external enemies.

Note (41), page 38.

The history of the foundation of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia is very like the history of the rebellious Isaurians, "who disdained to be the subjects of Galienus." Thoros possessed a part of this savage country; and we may say of him, what Gibbon said of the Isaurians: "The most successful princes respected the strength of the mountains and the despair of the natives." (Gibbon, iii. 51.)

Note (42), page 38.

Iconium is mentioned as a station by Xenophon and Strabo; Cyrus staid three days in "this last city of Phrygia." St. Paul found there many Jews and Gentiles; and it is said that even now, in its decayed state, Conia or Iconium has 30,000 inhabitants. This town is above 300 miles from Constantinople. (Gibbon, iv.

152.) The chronology of the Seljuks of Iconium may be seen in the *Histoire des Huns, par Deguignes.* Kuniyah قونيا is laid down by Abul Fazel (Ayeen Akbery, ii. 359), long. 66. 30., and lat. 41. 40. A description of the modern Konia may be seen in Col. Leake's Asia Minor, l. c. 223.

Note (43), page 40.

I find him not mentioned as an author in the "Quadro della storia letteraria di Armenia." It seems that his explanations of the prophets are now lost. If the reader will compare the elogy of T'horos with the facts in Vahram's own chronicle, he will easily find that adulation, and not truth, dictated it.

Note (44), page 40.

Seav or *Sev-learn*, *Black-mountain* (Karadagh). Here was a famous monastery. *Carmania* is the place which formerly was called Laranda, and this name is still, as Col. Leake remarks, in common use among the Christians, and is even retained in the firmans of the Porte. Caraman derives its name from the first and greatest of its princes, who made himself master of Iconium, Cilicia, etc. (Col. Leake's Asia Minor, l. c. p. 232.)

Note (45), page 40.

An allusion to Ierem, i. 13.

Note (46), page 40.

It is known that the feudal laws and institutions have been introduced into the possessions of the Franks in Asia. *Baillis*, or *Baillie*, written *Bail* in the Armenian language, means a judge, and the word is commonly found in this signification in the chronicles and histories of the middle ages. The *Baillis* possessed powers somewhat similar to those of the ancient *Comites*. We see here and in other instances, that the Baillis are older than the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. At this time they began in France. (Robertson, note 23, to his View of the State of Europe before the History of the reign of the Emperor Charles V.)

Note (47), page 41.

It is very probable that the murderer Andronicus and Meleh were acquainted with each other; their history and their crimes are something similar.

Note (48), page 43.

Roustam was a Sultan of Iconium. (See the Chronology of these Sultans in Deguigne's Histoire des Huns.)

Note (49a), page 43.

In the times of the Crusades, wonders and witchcraft or enchantment were daily occurrences; the Christians imputed all their defeats to diabolical opposition, and

their success to the assistance of the military saints. Tasso's celebrated poem gives a true picture of the spirit of the times.

Note (49b), page 43.

Here the author uses again *Tadjik* as the name of a particular people: but accuracy, I fear, is not the virtue of Vahram; he calls the Turks of Iconium, the sons of Ismael or Hagar, *i.e.* Arabs.

Note (50), page 43.

Our author says not in what province these towns lay. Chamchean, being able to consult other native historians, informs us that Leon nearly took Cæsarea in Palestine. —Heraclea was perhaps also the town of this name in Palestine; it was a small town near Laodicæa in the time of Strabo. Τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ πλησιάζει πολίχνια, τό, τε Ποσείδιον καὶ Ἡράκλειον.—Strabo iii. 361, ed. Tauchn.

Note (51), page 43.

The old Samaria, called Cæsarea by Herodes, ἣν Ἡρώδης Σεβαστὴν ἐπωνόμασεν, Strabo iii. 372. See the description of this famous place in Carl Ritler's Erdkunde ii. 393. Chamchean, 315.Abul Eazel (Ayeen Akbery, ii. 337.) places it long. 66. 30. lat. 32. 50.

Note (52), page 44.

This memorable transaction is fully described in the great History of Armenia by Chamchean, and in the

Tyrus, speaking (De Bello Sacro, xvi. 18.) of the synod of Jerusalem in the year 1141, has the following words: " Cui synodo interfuit maximus Armeniorum pontifex, immo omnium episcoporum Cappadociae, Mediæ et Persidis et utriusque Armeniæ princips et doctor eximius qui *Catholicus* dicitur." Wilhelm might add, "et Indiæ," for I think that the Armenians, like the Syrians, formed as early as the sixth century of our era, settlements in this part of the world. It is certain that Armenians were in India as early as the year 800. (*De Faria*, in the *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, by Kerr, Edinburgh 1812, vol. vi. p. 419.)

Note (54), page 44.

The Armenians consider themselves the descendants of *Thorgoma* (a name differently spelt in the different manuscripts and translations of Genesis x. 3.) the son of Japet.

Note (55), page 44.

Vahram is too concise; he never gives the reasons of occurrences. I see, in Chamchean, that Leon married, after the death of his first wife, a daughter of Guido, king of Cyprus, by whom he had a daughter, called Sabel or Elizabeth, his only child and heiress of the kingdom. The Sultan of Ionium did not like these intimate connexions of the Armenians with the Latins; he feared some coalition against himself, and he thought it proper to be beforehand with the enemy.

Note (56), page 45.

We have in the text again *Bail* or *Bailly*. I could not translate the word otherwise than *Regent:* this is certainly the sense in which Vahram uses this expression.

Note (57), page 46.

The name of this first husband of Isabella was Philippus, the son of the Prince of Antioch and the niece of Leon. Philippus died very soon, and Isabella, as our author says himself, married, 1223, the son of the regent Constantine, Hethum or Haithon.

Note (58), page 46.

This Rouben was of the royal family.—Chamchean, 326.

Note (59), page 46.

It would carry us too far if we were to attempt to elucidate the ecclesiastical history of these times, for there were many synods and many negotiations between the Armenian clergy and the Greek and Latin church, concerning the union. Pope Innocent III. showed also at this opportunity his well-known activity. There exist many letters from the Catholici and the Armenian kings to different popes and emperors, with their answers, —ample matter for a diligent historian. The first Gregorius after Nerses is Gregorius IV. from 1173—1193. Gregorius V. from 1193—1195. Gregorius VI. from 1195—1202. John VII. from 1202—1203.

David III. from 1203—1205, and then again John VII. 1205—1220. Constantine I. from 1220—1268. There were yet two anti-Catholici, elected by a dissentient party, who are not mentioned by Vahram.

Note (60), page 47.

The good Vahram seems to have forgotten what he said a short time before. I do not know by what genealogy Chamchean could be induced to say that Hethum is an offspring of Haig and the Parthian kings.

Note (61), page 48.

The flattery of Vahram increases as he comes nearer to his own time. I have sometimes taken the liberty to contract a little these eulogies; the reader will certainly be thankful for it.

Note (62), page 48.

In the battle against the Mameluks of Egypt in the year 1266.

Note (63), page 48.

The Moguls are a branch, a tribe, or a clan of the Tatars; so say all well-informed contemporary historians and chroniclers; so say in particular the Chinese, who are the only sources for the early history of the Turks, the Moguls, and Tunguses; nations which, in general, from ignorance or levity, have been called *Tatars*—the Moguls only are Tatars. The Armenians write the name *Muchal;* in our text of Vahram, *Muchan* has been printed by mistake. That this people was called so

from their country is quite new; and if this were the case, it would be still a question why the territory was called *Mogul*. There are sometimes such whimsical reasons for the names of places and nations, as to defy the strictest research and the greatest curiosity. The name of *Mogul* seems not to be older than Tshinggis, and Mr. Schmidt in St Petersburgh, derives the word from a Mongolian word, which means *keen*, *daring*, *valiant*. The ancient name of the Moguls, as it is given by the native historian Sätzan, is, I am afraid, only a mistake of this ignorant chieftain. His whole history of the Moguls is only a very inaccurate compilation from Chinese authors, and the unlettered Mogul may have taken the appellative expression pih teih 8539, 10162, or pih too 10313, 8539, "northern barbarians" or "northern country," for the proper name of his forefathers. Long before the Moguls, the Chinese became acquainted with some barbarous tribes called by different names, and also *Mo ho;* but the Chinese authors, who are so accurate in giving the different names of one and the same people, never say that the *Mung koo*, who are also written with quite different characters, are called *Mo ho*, or *vice versâ*. These Mo ho are described as quite a distinct people, with a particular language, divided into different clans or kingdoms. There is an interesting description of this people under the name of Wŭh keih 14803, 5918, in the

Encyclopædia of Matuanlin, Book 326, p. 146. The same author says, in the sequel of his great work, that the Kitans have nearly the same customs (sŭh 9545) as the Mo ho, but he does not say that they are of the same race of people.—Matuanlin, Book 345, in the beginning. The different names of the Mo ho are also collected in Kanghi's Dictionary under hŏ, a character not to be found in Morrison's Tonical Dictionary; it is composed out of the rad. 177, and the sound giving group hŏ, 4019, and there also exists no passage saying Mo ho and Mung koo are one and the same people.

Note (64), page 49.

Vahram speaks of the four sons of Tshinggis. The army of the Moguls and of Timur (see his Institutes, p. 229 foll.) was divided into divisions of 10, 100, 1000, &c. The ten followers were the ten first officers or "Comites," as Tacitus calls the compeers of the German princes. Similar customs are always found in a similar state of society.

Note (65), page 49.

Vahram confounds probably the first election of the Emperor Cublai, with the election of his follower Mangou, to whose residence at Caracorum the King of Cilicia, Hethum, went as a petitioner. Vahram knows that the title of the head of the Mogolian confederacy is

Teen tze, 10095, 11233, " the son of Heaven." The Mongolian emperors have only been called so, after the conquest of China by Cublai. *Teen tse* is the common title of the Emperor of the " Flowery empire." According to other accounts, Tshinggis called himself already " Son of Heaven."

Note (66), page 49.

To Mangou khan; we know this by other contemporary historians. There exist some Armenian historians in the 13th century, who contain a good deal of information regarding the Moguls. One is printed in the Mémoires sur l'Arménie, by Saint-Martin. See Quardo della Storia, &c. p. 112, and following.

Note (67), page 49.

Is this treaty to be any where found? It would certainly be very interesting. Vahram has the word *kir*, by which it is certain that Hethum I. returned with a written treaty, which very probably was written in the Mogulian language, and with the Mogulian characters.

Note (68), page 49.

Vahram has again the unsettled and vague name of Tadjik.

Note (69), page 49.

Vahram died before the beginning of the glory of Othman, and of the increasing power of his descendants; he speaks of the fading state of the Seljuks of Iconium.

Note (70), page 50.

I have taken the liberty to shorten a little the pious meditations of our author: he would have done better to give us some details regarding the interesting transactions with the Moguls.

Note (71), page 50.

Sem, the son of Noe,—our author means Palastine and Syria. The Mamalukes of Egypt remained in possession of Sham, or Syria, till the conquest of Timur, 1400 of our era. He mentions in his Institutes, p. 148, the Defeat of the Badishah of Miser and Sham شام. After the retreat of Timur, the Mamalukes again took possession of the country, and held it till the conquest of the Othomans. " Egypt was lost," says Gibbon, " had she been defended only by her feeble offspring; but the Mamalukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of the Scythian air; equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well-fought field, and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates."—Gibbon iv. 270. See also p. 175, 261. It is known that " this government of the slaves" lasted by treaty under the descendents of Selim, and was only destroyed in our times by a signal act of treachery of Mehmed, Pasha of Egypt.

Note (72), page 50.

'Antioch was finally occupied and ruined by Bondocdar, or Bibars, Sultan of Egypt and Syria."—Gibbon iv. 175. Antioch never rose again after this destruction; it is now in a very decayed state, and has only about 10,000 inhabitants. The Turks pronounce the name *Antakie*.

Note (73), page 50.

Confiding in his Mogulian allies, or masters, Hethum took many places, which formerly paid tribute to the Mamaluke sovereigns; they asked of him, therefore, either to restore them their former possessions, or to pay tribute.—Chamchean, 339.

Note (74), page 50.

This is certainly very remarkable. It had never happened before in the history of the world, and will perhaps, never happen in future times, that the kings of Georgia and Armenia, the Sultans of Iconium, the Emirs of Persia, the ambassadors of France, of Russia, of Thibet, Pegu, and Tonquin, met together in a place about nine thousand miles to the north-west of Pekin, and that life and death of the most part of these nations depended on the frown or smile of a great khan. M. Rémusat has written a very learned and ingenious dissertation on the situation of Caracorum.—Abul Fazel (Ayeen Akbery ii. 336, London edition, 1800), lays

down قراقوروم, Caracurem, long. 111. 0. lat. 44. 45. All the residences of the khan were distinguished by the general name of *Khanbaligh* (town or residence of the khan), and this has led astray many historians and geographers.

Note (75), page 52.

Jacobus I. died 1268, and is considered a very great man by the Armenians; they call him the *Sage* and the Doctor. Jacobus has written some ecclesiastical tracts, and a very fine song on the nativity of the Virgin Mary, which is printed in the Psalm-book of the Armenian church.

Note (76), page 53.

This seems to be the Greek word *μακαρίος*, "beatus," "blessed," &c.

Note (77), page 54.

Nobody receives the degree of a Vartabed without having previously undergone a strict examination: it is something like the doctor of philosophy of the German universities; but a Vartabed, that is to say *a teacher*, is rather more esteemed in Armenia than a doctor of philosophy in Germany. The Vartabed receives at his inauguration a staff, denoting the power to teach, reprove, and exhort in every place with all authority. (See the Biography of Gregory *Wartabed*, as the word is spelt there, in the Missionary Herald, vol. xxiv. 140.) It is

very probable that this institution came in the fifth century of our era from the philosophic schools in Athens to Armenia; nearly all the classical writers of this age went to Athens for their improvement.

Note (78), page 54.

Leon III. gave orders to make new copies of all the works of the former classieal writers of the nation; in our eyes, his greatest praise.

Note (79), page 55.

The King's secretary cannot find words enough to praise his master; in his zeal, he accumulates words upon words which signify the same: I have passed over some of these repetitions. Vahram, without being aware of it, describes his master more as a pious monk than as a prudent king. Why does the Secretary of State not give any reason for the rebellious designs of the Armenian chieftains?

Note (80), page 55.

From the time of Herodotus and Zoroaster to this day, the Turcomans carried on their nomadical life, and as it seems, without much change in their manners and customs. The text of Herodotus and Polybius may be explained by the embassies of Muravie and Meyendorn to Khiva and Buchara. Many of these Turcoman shepherds were driven to Asia Minor by the destruction

of the Charizmian empire by the Moguls; the inroads and devastations of the Charizmian shepherds have been described by many contemporary authors, and the Crusaders experienced a great defeat from these savages.

Note (81), page 57.

The Egyptians having retired, Leon went against their allies one by one.

Note (82), page 58.

The successor of Hulagou, khan of Persia.

Note (83), page 58.

Here Vahram calls even the Moguls Tadjiks,—is it because they governed Persia?

Note (84), page 58.

Vahram calls here the territory of the Seljuks of Iconium *Turkestan*. As regards the etymology of the word, he is quite in the right; but what we are accustomed to call *Turkestan*, is a country rather more to the north-east.

Note (85), page 59.

Here ends the Chronicle; but Vahram adds some reflections which I thought proper to subjoin, and only to pass over his so often repeated pious sentiments.

Note (86), page 60.

The monk Vahram is not tired of repeating the same thought in twenty different ways, but I was tired of

translating these repeated variations of the same theme, and the reader would probably have been tired in reading them. Why should we waste our time in translating and reading sermons, from which nothing else could be learned, than that the author said what had been said long before him, in a better style. Why should we think it worth our while to study the groundless reasoning of a mind clouded by superstition ?

APPENDIX.

Letters between Pope Innocent III. and Leon the First Armenian King of Cilicia.

During the middle ages, the clergy governed the world, and the Pope, as the head of the clergy, was also the head of what then was called the Christian Republic. All transactions of any note are therefore contained, or at least spoken of, in the vast collections of letters or Regesta of the followers of St. Peter. To be united with the Roman Catholic Church was, in fact, (particularly during the Crusades,) the same as acknowledging the Pope as the supreme umpire, not only in the spiritual but also in the civil government of the country; this is clearly to be seen in the following letters. If the Popes could not speak to every king as they did to the impotent sovereign of Cilicia, it was certainly not their fault. The following letters exist only, as far as I know, in the Latin tongue, and are taken from the *Regesta Innoc. III.*, lib. ii., pp. 208, 209, 247, 44. I give the text of these letters according to Galanus, who accompanied

them with a translation into the Armenian language. (Conciliat. Eccles. Arm. cum Romana. Romæ, 1650; vol. i., p. 357).

Leo Armeniæ Rex, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino, Innocentio, Dei gratia Summo Pont. et universali Papæ, tanto, ac tali honore Dignissimo.

De suo erga veram Religionem, et Sedem Apostolicam amore; et quod petat auxilium contra Sarracenos.

Leo per eandem, et Romani Imperii gratiam Rex omnium Armeniorum, cum salutatione seipsum, et quicquid potest. Gloria, laus, et honor omnipotenti Deo, qui Vos tantum, et talem pastorem Ecclesiæ suæ præesse voluit, vestris bonis meritis exigentibus: et tam fructuosam, et firmam fabricam super fundamentum Apostolorum componere, et tantum lumen, super candelabrum positum, toti Orbi terrarum ad salutem totius Christianitatis effundere dignatus est. In vestri vero luminis gratia, salutaribus monitis Reverendiss. Patris nostri Archiepiscopi Moguntini,* instructi et informati *omne Regnum nobis à Deo commissum, amplissimum, et spatiosum, et omnes Armenios, huc illuc in remotis partibus diffusos, ad unitatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, divina inspirante clementia, *revocare cupimus*,

* See the Notes 53 and 54 to the text of Vahram's Chronicle.

et exoptamus. Ad hæc calamitatess, miserias, pauper tates, et imbecillitatem. Regni Syriæ,* et nostrum, per ipsum prædictum Moguntinum (quia difficilior labor erat scripto retexere) Pietati vestræ patefacimus. Ipse vero per singula rei veritatem vobis explicabit: in cujus notitiam ista non præteriere. Hanc utique contritionem, et collisionem in valle destituti lacrymarum jamdiu sustinuimus; quod de cætero sine spe subsidii, et auxilii vestri sustinere nequimus. Verum quia zelus domus Dei tepescere non debet in cordibus tam vestro, quam nostro, non ut personam instruentis geramus, ejusdem omus decorem diligere, et pro eadem domo murum not oportet opponere; ut impetus, quem super eam faciuns inimici Crucis, co-operante Dei gratia, collectis in unum animi viribus, resistendo excludamus. Hinc est, quod vestram flexis genibus imploramus pietatem, quatenus lacrymabilibus Domini Moguntini precibus, et nostris divino intuitu aures misericordiæ porrigatis: et miseriis Christianitatis compatientes, subsidium Christianissimum nobis accurrendo mittatis, antequam irremeabile, quod absit, incurramus diluvium; immo cum Dei, et vestro auxilio, evaginato ense, de Hur Chaldæorum, et persecutione Pharaonis liberari possimus. Datum Tarsi, anno ab incarnatione Domini, MCXCIX. mense Majo. die xxiij.

* This part of Palestine and Syria, which belonged to the Latins.

Innocentii III. ad præcedentem Leonis epist. responsio; qua laudat illius studium erga Sedem Apost. cujus primatum demonstrat; hortatur, ut in obedientia ejusdem S. Sedis fideliter perseveret; et subsidium contra Sarracenos cito se missurum pollicetur.

Is Ecclesiam suam, congregatam ex gentibus, non habentem maculam, neque rugam super gentes et Regna constituit; is extendit palmites ejus usque ad mare, et usque ad terminos terræ ipsius propagines dilatavit; cujus est terra, et plenitudo ejus, Orbis terrarum, et universi qui habitant in eo, ipse etiam Romanam Ecclesiam non solum universis fidelibus prætulit, sed supra cæteras Ecclesias exaltavit: ut cæteræ ab ea non tam vivendi normam, et morum sumerent disciplinam, sed et fidei etiam catholicæ documenta reciperent, et ejus servarent humiliter instituta. In Petro enim Apostolorum Principe, cui excellentius aliis Dominus ligandi et solvendi contulit potestatem, dicens ad eum: quodcunque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cœlis: et quodcunque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cœlis: Ecclesia Romana, sedes ejus, et Sessores ipsius Romani Pontifices, successores Petri, et vicarii Jesu Christi, sibi invicem per successivas varietates temporum singulariter succedentes, super Ecclesiis omnibus, et cunctis Ecclesiarum Prelatis, immo etiam fidelibus universis a Domino primatum et magisterium acceperunt: vocatis sic cæteris

in partem solicitudinis, ut apud eos plenitudo resideat potestatis. Non enim in Petro, et cum Petro singulare illud privilegium expiravit, quod successoribus ejus futuris usque in finem Mundi Dominus in ipso concessit; sed præter vitæ sanctitatem, et miraculorum virtutes, par est in omnibus jurisdictio successorum; quos etsi diversis temporibus, eidem tamen Sedi, et eadem auctoritate Dominus voluit præsidere. Gaudemus autem, quod tu, sicut Princeps catholicus, Apostolicæ Sedis privilegium recognoscens, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Moguntinum Archiepiscopum, Episcopum Sabinensem, unum ex septem Episcopis, qui nobis in Ecclesia Romana collaterales existunt, benigne, ac hilariter recepisti; et non solum per eum institutis salutaribus es instructus, quibus juxta continentiam litterarum tuarum totum Regnum tuum licet amplissimum desideras informari, et universos Armenos ad Ecclesiæ Romanæ gremium revocare; sed *ad honorem, et gloriam Apostolicæ Sedis, quam constitutam esse novisti super gentes, et regna, diadema regni recepisti de manibus ejus;* et eum curasti devote, ac humiliter honorare: et nos per ipsum, et litteras tuas ad orientalis terræ subsidium invitasti. Ei ergo, a quo est omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum, qui habet corda Principum in manu sua, quas possumus, gratias referentes, quod tibi tantæ humilitatis animum inspiravit; rogamus Serenitatem Regiam, et exhortamur in Domino, ac *per Apostolica tibi*

scripta mandamus, quatenus in timore Domini, et Apostolicæ Sedis devotione persistens, ad expugnandam barbariem Paganorum, et vindicandam injuriam Crucifixi, tanto potentius, et efficacius studeas imminere; quanto fraudes et versutias hostium vicinius positus melius cognovisti: non in exercitus multitudine, aut virtute, sed de ipsius potius miseratione confidens, qui docet manus ad prælium, et digitos movet ad bellum; qu arcus fortium superat, et robore accingit infirmos. Jam enim per Dei gratiam ad commonitionem nostram multi Crucis signaculum receperunt, et plures Domino dante recipient, in defensionem orientalis Provinciæ opportuno tempore transituri. Jam etiam duo ex fratribus nostris de manibus nostris vivificæ Crucis assumpsere vexillum, exercitum Domini præcessuri. Confide igitur, et esto robustus, quia citius forsitan, quam credatur, orientalis Provincia subsidium sentiet expectatum. Dat. Later. viii. kal. Decembris.

Idem Innocentius Papa ad illustriss. Regem Armeniæ. Quod ipsi transmittat vexillum beati Petri, quo contra Crucis inimicos utatur.

After some previous passages:—Et tibi congaudemus, et Nobis, immo etiam universo Populo Christiano; quod eum tibi Dominus inspiravit affectum, ut Apostolicæ Sedis instituta devote reciperes, et præcepta fideliter observares, et contra inimicos Crucis propositum illud

assumeres, ut in eos vindicare cupias injuriam Crucifixi, et hæreditatem ejus de ipsorum manibus liberare. Nos igitur de tuæ devotionis sinceritate confisi, ad petitionem dilecti filii Roberti de Margat militis, nuncii tui, in nostræ dilectionis indicium, vexillum beati Petri tuæ Serenitati dirigimus; quo in hostes Crucis duntaxat utaris, et eorum studeas contumaciam cum Dei auxilio, suffragantibus Apostolorum Principis meritis, refrænare. Datum Later. xvi. kal. Januarii.

Leonis Armeniæ Regis ad Innocentium III. epistola; qua ad præcedentem respondet, et privilegium ab eo petit.

After some other passages:—Paternitatis vestræ litteras, quas per dilectum fidelem Nuncium nostrum nobis direxistis, ea qua decuit reverentia, et devotione suscepimus; et per earum significata pleno collegimus intellectu, Vos charitatis visceribus Regiam Majestatem nostram amplexari. Continebant etiam quod in devotione, et amore Apostolicæ Sedis persisteremus; et in hoc semper perseverare cupimus; et optamus: et testis est rerum effectus, dum *de omnibus negotiis nostris ad Sedem Apostolicum appellamus.* Misistis autem nobis per eundem Nuncium vexillum sancti Petri in memoriale dilectionis Sedis Apostolicæ, quod semper ante nos portari contra inimicos Crucis ad honorem Sanctæ Romanæ

Ecclesiæ faciemus. . . . Præterea nos obedientiæ vinculis de cætero Apostolicæ Sedi esse alligatos, non dubitetis; ea propter, si placet Sanctitati vestræ, cuilibet alteri Ecclesiæ Latinæ nec volumus, nec debemus alligari. Hinc est, quod Sanctitatem vestram humiliter flagitamus, quatenus nobis litteras apertas mittere dignemini, ut non teneamur videlicet cum Latinis de terra nostra de qualibet conditione, excepta sancta Romana Ecclesia, cuilibet Ecclesiæ Latinæ: et quod non habeat potestatem, nos, seu Latinos de terra nostra excommunicandi, vel sententiam in Regno nostro proferendi super Latinos quælibet Ecclesia, excepta, ut dictum est, Sede Apostolica.* Præsentium quoque latorem, dilectum, et fidelem nostrum militem, nomine Garnere Teuto ad pedes Sanctitatis vestræ dirigimus; cui super his, quæ ex parte nostra vobis indixerit, tanquam Nobis ipsis credere, ne dubitetis, &c.

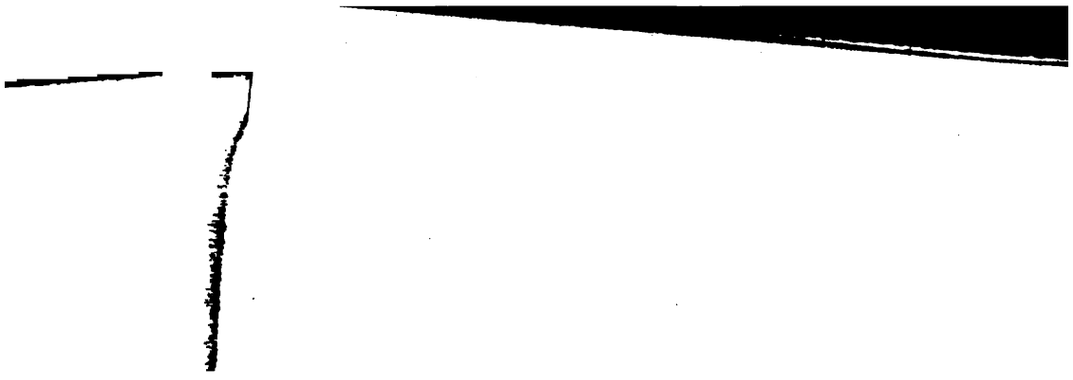
Ex indulto Regis Armeniæ, a Domino Papa Innocentio III. sibi facto.

Volentes igitur, quantum cum Deo possumus, tuæ Serenitati deferre, et *cum honestate nostra petitineso Regias exaudire;* tuis precibus inclinati, auctoritate præsentium inhibemus, ne quis in te, vel Regnum tuum, aut homines Regni tui, cujuscunque conditionis existant

* Leon was on bad terms with the clergy of Antioch, and the latin princes were eager to unite Cilicia with their dominions.

qui mediantibus tamen ejusdem Regni Prælatis, Sedi Apostolicæ sunt subjecti, præter Romanum Pontificem, et ejus Legarum, vel de ipsius speciali mandato, districtionem Ecclesiasticam audeat exercere,* &c.

* There are some other matters, regarding the history of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia, spoken of in the *Regesta Innocentii III.*; but it is not our object to write the history of that kingdom. We only collect materials for a future historian, who might certainly draw some other valuable accounts from *Belovacensis Spec. Hist.*, from *Sanutus* and from *Hayto* or *Hethum's Hist. Orient.* We may here observe, that Vahram, who is eager to tell all that is to the honour and glory of the Church, says nothing about the baptism of the great Chan of the Moguls.



CHRONOLOGY

OF THE

ARMENIAN BARONS AND KINGS OF CILICIA

(ACCORDING TO CHAMCHEAN.)

Rouben I.	1080
Constantine I.	1095
Thoros I.	1100
Leon I.	1123
Interregnum	1138
Thoros II.	1144
Thomas Bail, regent	1168
Meleh	1169
Rouben II.	1174
Leon II.*	1185
Sabel or Isabella, queen	1219
Philippus	1220
Interregnum	1222
Hethum or Haithon I.	1224
Leon III.	1269

* Leon was the first king, the former princes are only called barons of Cilicia.

Hethum II., also called Johannes	1289
Thoros III.	1293
Hethum II. (second time)	1295
Sembad	1296
Constantine II.	1298
Hethum III.	1300
Leon IV.	1305
Odshin	1308
Leon V.	1320
Constantine III.	1342
Guido	1343
Constantine IV.	1345
Interregnum	1363
Leon VI.	1368
End of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia ...	1375

THE Translator finds it necessary to remark for the information of the reader of "*The History of Vartan*," that, not being in this country when the work went to press, there occurred some slight errors, particularly in the orthography of proper names. We shall at present only notice the following:—

Preface, p. vii, line 6, for *Esrick* read *Esnik*.
p. xxii, line 13, for *of* Moh. read *before* Moh.
p. 5, line 21, for *Dadjgabdan* read *Dadjgasdan*.
p. 75, line 21, for *Bardesares* read *Bardesanes*.

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This Turkish History comprises the period between 1622 and 1692, and includes accounts of the Turkish invasion of Germany, the sieges of Buda, Vienna, &c.

Khondemirs Habbîb as Seyir; translated by William Greenfield, Esq.
This highly esteemed Persian General History contains, among other accounts, Histories of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Philosophers of Mohammed, and the Imams and Caliphs, and of Genghes Khan and Tamerlane, and their successors.

Ibn Haukul's Geography; translated by Professor Hamaker.
This Arabic work was compiled in the 10th century by a celebrated Mohammedan Traveller, and is not the same as the Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal that was translated by Sir William Ouseley.

The History of Raja Crishna Chandra, translated by G. C. Haughton, Esq.
This Bengali work includes an account of the Rise of the Raja's family, of the events that led to the fatal catastrophe of the Black Hole at Calcutta, and of the triumphant establishment of the English under Lord Clive in Bengal.

The Chun-tsew of Confucius; translated by Mr. William Huttmann.
This Chinese work, which still remains untranslated, contains the history of the Kingdom of Loo, of which Confucius was some time Prime-Minister, and is the only one of the works usually attributed to him that he really wrote.

The Tung hwa loo; translated by Mr. William Huttmann.
This is a Chinese History of the first three Emperors of the Tartar dynasty, that now governs China. It is very scarce through not being allowed to be printed in China.

The Chronicle of Abulfath Ibn Abulhasan Alsamou; translated by the Rev. T. Jarrett, A.M.

This rare Arabic work, of which only one perfect copy is known to be in Europe, is a History of the Samaritans from the creation to the middle of the fourteenth century.

The Asseba as Syar of Syed Mohammed Reza; translated by Mirza Alexander Kazem Beg.

This is a Turkish History of the Khans of the Crimea, written about A.D. 1740, and contains many interesting particulars relating to Turkey, Russia, Poland, and Germany.

A Description of Tibet; translated by Monsieur Jules de Klaproth.

This will consist of extracts from various Chinese and Mandchu works, forming a complete account of Tibet, and of the Buddhic religion, of which it is the principal seat.

The San kokf tsu ran; translated by Monsieur Jules de Klaproth.

This Japanese work is a description of Loo-Choo, Corea, and Jesso, with Maps and Plates: it was written in 1785.

Ibn Khaldun's History of the Berbers; translated by the Rev. Professor Lee.

This is a rare and valuable Arabic work, containing an account of the origin, progress, and decline of the dynasties which governed the northern coast of Africa.

Ibn Koteiba's History of the Arabians, translated by Dr. J. H. Möller.

This celebrated work contains the History of the Arabians from the time of Ishmael the son of Abraham to near the end of the third century of the Mahommedan, or the 9th of the Christian era.

The Fo koue ke, translated by Monsieur Abel Remusat.

This very curious Chinese work contains an account of the travels of some Buddhist Priests during the years 399-411 A.D. from Si ngan fu in China, through Tartary, Hindoostan, Ceylon, &c., and greatly elucidates the ancient geography and religion of Central Asia and India.

Makrisi's Khîtat, or History and Statistics o Egypt; translated by Abraham Salamé, Esq.

This Arabic work includes accounts of the conquest of Egyp tby the Caliphs, A.D. 640; and of the cities, rivers, ancient and modern inhabitants of Egypt, &c.

A History of the Birman Empire, translated by Father Sangermano.

This work, which contains the political and religious history of Birmah, was translated by Father Sangermano, who was a missionary in Ava twenty-six years. It also furnishes accounts of the natural productions, laws, and metaphysics of that country.

Part of Mirkhond's Ruzet-as-Suffa; translated by David Shea, Esq.

The part of this Persian work selected for publication is that which contains the History of Persia from Kaiomurs to the death of Alexander the Great.

Class 3d.—BIBLIOGRAPHY, BELLES-LETTRES, and BIOGRAPHY.

The San kwo che; translated by J. F. Davis, Esq.

This very popular historical romance is founded on the civil wars that raged in China in the third century, and is reckoned quite a model of Chinese style.

Haji Khalfa's Bibliographical Dictionary; translated by Monsieur Gustave Fluegel.

This valuable Arabic work was written by the celebrated Kateb Chelebi, and contains accounts of above 13,000 Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works, arranged alphabetically.

Heft Peiker, an historical Romance of Behrám Gúr; translated by the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.

This Persian poem of Nizámi of Ganjah, contains the romantic history of Behrám, the Vth of the Sassanian dynasty of Persian Kings.

Meher va Mushteri; translated by the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.

This Persian Poem, ofwhich an abridgment will be published, was composed by Muhammed Assár, and celebrates the friendship and adventures of Meher and Mushteri, the sons of King Shapur and his grand Vizier.

Ibn Khalikan's Lives of Illustrious Men: translated by Dr. F. A. Rosen.

This is an Arabic Biographical Dictionary, arranged alphabetically, of the most celebrated Arabian historians, poets, warriors, &c. who lived in the seven first centuries of the era of Mahommed, A.D. 600 to A.D. 1300.

The Bustan of Sadi; translated by James Ross, Esq., A.M.

This is a much-admired Persian Poem, consisting of Tales, &c. illustrative of moral duties.

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